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## EDITORIAL NOTE

The editing of this number of THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW has been done by Mr. Manoel S. Cardozo in collaboration with Mr. Alexander Marchant. Difficulties in the international mail service have made it impracticable to turn out the issue as an exclusively Brazilian one. Enough has been done, however, to call attention to the sharp need for emphasis upon Portuguese-American history in proportion to the importance of the area involved. The Managing Editor wishes to thank the guest-editor and Mr. Marchant warmly for cheerfully undertaking this difficult bit of the arduous and thankless task of editing.—Ed.

## THE BARON DO RIO-BRANCO, JOAQUIM NABUCO, AND THE GROWTH OF BRAZILIAN-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP, 1900-1910

One of the most brilliant coups of José Maria da Silva Paranhos, Baron do Rio-Branco, foreign minister of Brazil from 1902 until 1912, was to knot the scattered threads of Brazilian-American relations and to fortify a friendship which dated from Brazil's first years as an independent state. He was greatly aided in this task by the wisdom and gracious personality of the first Brazilian to serve as ambassador to the United States, Joaquim Nabuco. Both were sons of celebrated statesmen of the court of Dom Pedro II, and both represented the best Brazilian traditions of service to the country.

The Baron do Rio-Branco made it a key policy to strengthen the ties between the United States and Brazil that already had been in process of formation as an outgrowth of reciprocal economic needs and similar political ideologies. The baron had lived in Europe so long that he was almost European in his outlook, but he had the discernment to realize that the center of world power was shifting to the New World. He had visited the great northern republic as the representative of his government in connection with the Missões boundary dispute, which President Grover Cleveland was called upon to arbitrate, and had won the friendship and lasting admiration of Dr. John Bassett Moore, whose advice he often sought in later years. The fact that Cleveland had made his award in favor of Brazil doubtless served to confirm such favorable impressions as the Baron do Rio-Branco may have formed of the United States during his sojourn there.

### I

One of the baron's early achievements as foreign minister—an achievement which increased his country's prestige—



was the elevation of the Brazilian legation in Washington to the rank of an embassy, with reciprocal action on the part of the United States. There is no record in the Brazilian Foreign Office of any exchange of correspondence between the two governments about the change in status of their diplomatic representation, but in both countries the possibility had been discussed in official circles before final action was taken.

The first definite information appears to have been given by the *New York Herald* which, on December 26, 1904, published the following:

Brazil will soon raise its Legation at Washington to the rank of an Embassy. Senhor Joaquim Nabuco, Brazilian Minister in London, will be the first Ambassador to present his credentials to President Roosevelt, and will be the eighth Ambassador in the Diplomatic Corps.

Baron do Rio-Branco, the Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs, probably the most astute statesman in South America, heartily favors the bill recently introduced in the Brazilian Congress providing for the elevation of the Legation. This assures its passage.

Perhaps this was a trial balloon by which Rio-Branco sought to sound out the attitude of the United States and the White House. At any rate, on the ninth of the same month he had informed the legation in Washington that Sr. Nabuco would shortly come to the American capital from London and, in the same despatch, as if casually, he added that Brazil would be disposed to raise the legation to the category of embassy if the American government would reciprocate.

Meanwhile President Theodore Roosevelt appears to have read the item in the *New York Herald* and directed that the Brazilian minister in Washington be told that the advices given in the press were extremely agreeable to him and that he was ready to make the proposal a reality immediately. Both governments moved quickly. President Roosevelt on January 10 sent to the Senate the name of Mr. David Thompson, then minister in Rio de Janeiro, and Secretary Hay informed the Brazilian government that Sr. Nabuco would be received with pleasure. Dr. Alfredo de Moraes Gomes Ferreira, the Brazilian minister, had been instructed by Rio-Branco, in a telegram of December 29, to propose to the

American government the simultaneous elevation of the legations to embassies.<sup>1</sup> In Rio de Janeiro, Rio-Branco arranged to announce the appointments on the same day. On January 13, therefore, when the United States Senate approved the nomination of Mr. Thompson, the news was first released of the appointment of Sr. Nabuco three days before.

The creation of the new embassy was variously commented upon in the Brazilian press. The Rio de Janeiro daily, *O Paiz*, observed on January 8:

It would be impossible to give the world a greater demonstration of sympathy and friendship between two great Republics of the New World. Linked by solid commercial interests which are developing progressively, destined to have parallel courses, natural leaders of the two parts of the Western Hemisphere, these nations enjoy a close friendship that is the natural consequence of their respective situations.<sup>2</sup>

President Rodrigues Alves, in his message to the Brazilian Congress on May 3, 1905, said:

The rapidity with which the simultaneous creation of the two Embassies was effected is a good indication of the mutual esteem which subsists between the two governments and of the good will with which the government and people of the United States reciprocate our ancient and loyal friendship.<sup>3</sup>

## II

Deputy Dunshee de Abranches, a keen observer of international trends as they affected his own country, was known as the mouthpiece of the baron in the Chamber of Deputies. He subsequently wrote that

<sup>1</sup> Raúl Adalberto de Campos, *Relações Diplomáticas do Brasil Contendo os nomes dos Representantes Diplomáticos do Brasil no estrangeiro e os dos Representantes Diplomáticos dos diversos países no Rio de Janeiro de 1808 a 1912* (Rio de Janeiro, 1913), pp. 50-51.

<sup>2</sup> For these details the present writer is indebted to his friend Dr. Antônio Camilo de Oliveira, of the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Relations, who, with the gracious permission of Minister Afrânio de Melo Franco, made a search of the Itamarati archives for a record of correspondence relative to the creation of the embassies.

<sup>3</sup> *Mensagem apresentada ao congresso nacional na abertura da terceira sessão da quinta legislatura*, May 3, 1905 (Rio de Janeiro, 1905), pp. 18-19.



Above all things, Rio-Branco himself understood the development of this friendship on the most solid foundations through the incomparable spirit of Joaquim Nabuco, who incontestably consolidated it by a series of diplomatic achievements which . . . commend him to the eternal recognition of all the South American peoples who always found him an apostle, an invincible defender of their liberties during the gravest and most brilliant international controversies.<sup>4</sup>

Was Rio-Branco's cultivation of American friendship attributable to a genuine liking for the United States or to a shrewd realization of the advantages that would accrue to Brazil? Dona Carolina Nabuco, in the biography of her father, suggests that the latter was the governing factor. Referring to Sr. Nabuco's task as ambassador, that of overcoming the two chief obstacles to a better understanding—distrust on the part of Brazilians and the indifference of Americans—she says:

Even Rio-Branco—and the fact proves the necessity of the American policy as much as he deserves credit for his statesmanlike vision in boldly laying the foundations and supporting all the initiatives of Nabuco in his post—did it against his personal sympathies which were European and aristocratic to the highest degree.<sup>5</sup>

It may be that for Rio-Branco, as for many of his countrymen, it was difficult to turn from the traditional cultural beacon of Latin Europe, especially of France, to the United States, which, until the beginning of the twentieth century, had been intent upon its own domestic development, giving little attention to Latin-American problems. There is a hint of this reluctance on the part of the baron to break from Europe, as Carolina Nabuco suggests,<sup>6</sup> in his address of welcome to the delegates of the Third International American Conference.

"As young Nations still," he said, "we should not forget what we owe to those who have furnished the capital with which we entered into the world of competition. . . . From Europe we come; Europe has been our teacher; from her we

<sup>4</sup> *Brazil and the Monroe Doctrine* (Rio de Janeiro, 1915), pp. 71 et seq.

<sup>5</sup> *A Vida de Joaquim Nabuco* (2nd ed., São Paulo, 1929), p. 423.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

continually receive support and example, the light of science and art, the commodities of her industry, and the most profitable lessons of progress.'"<sup>7</sup> The baron's future biographer must study this conflict of allegiances in a man whose family traditions had all been with the empire and whose most impressionable years were spent in Europe, but who had to adjust himself to a republican Brazil and to the leadership of the land of Monroe.

### III

It was Rio-Branco's practice to use the press to defend his opinions whenever occasion warranted.<sup>8</sup> To answer critics of his step in creating the Washington embassy he wrote a dissertation entitled "O Brasil, os Estados Unidos e o Monroísmo"<sup>9</sup> which he printed in the great Brazilian daily *Jornal do Comércio* over the pseudonym of "J. Penn."<sup>10</sup> Rio-Branco's article sketches succinctly the highlights of almost a century of friendship. The policy followed by the government of President Rodrigues Alves, Rio-Branco reminded his countrymen, was a continuation of a friendship begun by the first imperial government. The United States was the first power to recognize the independence of Brazil, acting even before the mother-country. The first diplomatic envoy appointed by the prince regent, the future emperor Dom Pedro I, after the declaration of independence from Portugal was Luiz Moutinho Lima Alves e Silva, named chargé d'affaires in the United States on October 12, 1822. For various reasons this envoy did not leave Brazil and was replaced by José Silvestre Rebêlo, who arrived in Washington on April 3, 1824, a few months after President James Monroe had delivered to the Congress the message so pertinent to Latin-American affairs.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Third International American Conference, 1906. Minutes. Resolutions. Documents* (Rio de Janeiro, 1907), pp. 39 f.

<sup>8</sup> He had written newspaper articles during his student days.

<sup>9</sup> "Brazil, the United States, and Monroism."

<sup>10</sup> The baron's article was reprinted, with notes, by the Brazilian government on the occasion of the visit to the United States of President-Elect Dr. Júlio Prestes, with the following title: *Brasil e Estados Unidos da America. Um Artigo de Rio Branco. Seguido de anotações que abrangem o período de Rio Branco aos nossos dias* (Rio de Janeiro, 1930). Hereafter cited as *Brasil e Estados Unidos da America*.

<sup>11</sup> *Brasil e Estados Unidos da America*, pp. 9-16.



Brazil was the first Latin-American nation to accept the Monroe Doctrine, Rio-Branco went on to explain. Indeed, the imperial government in a note sent by its minister, Sr. Rebêlo, to Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, on January 28, 1825, proposed to the United States a plan for an offensive and defensive alliance, especially with a view toward opposing any attempts the Portuguese crown might make to regain its lost colony. Since the United States could not put into practice the principles of President Monroe's message "without sacrifice of men and money," and since it would not be "in conformity with reason, justice and right that the Government of Brazil should receive such sacrifices gratuitously," the note said that the Brazilian government was ready to enter into a convention with the government of the United States for the purpose of protecting the independence of Brazil in the event that any power should aid Portugal in her "vain and chimerical project to recolonize Brazil."<sup>12</sup> In a note of April 16, 1825, the offer was declined on the part of the United States by Henry Clay, Mr. Adams's successor as secretary of state, ostensibly because of the improbability of Portugal's attempting to regain Brazil, but actually because of the reluctance of the Washington government to depart from its policy of formal diplomatic isolation.<sup>13</sup> Mr. Clay expressed, however, the willingness of his government to conclude a treaty of peace, amity, navigation and commerce; and this was signed by the respective plenipotentiaries in Rio de Janeiro on December 12, 1828.

These were the beginnings of the friendly relations which with the exception of the Condé Ragnet affair in 1827, the Wise case in 1846, the Webb incident in 1863, and the capture of the privateer *Florida* by the cruiser *Wachusett* in 1864, were strengthened by the growth of the two nations. The three earlier disagreeable incidents, the baron wrote, were due to the ineptitude of Washington's diplomatic representatives, whose acts were disavowed and who were replaced; while the last-named affront to Brazilian sovereignty had been followed by prompt and honorable satisfaction.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 23-25.

<sup>14</sup> *Brasil e Estados Unidos da America*, pp. 26 f.

Rio-Branco quoted the mid-nineteenth-century jurist Pereira Pinto to show the nature of the dominant feeling of the Empire for the United States:

No reason can be shown why we should avoid the United States. Our interests in America are the same; they [the United States] consume on a large scale our most important product. In consequence, they should be our natural ally and indeed have sought with eagerness those relations. . . .

When European mediation to end the struggle in that country was suggested, their governors declared that the traditional policy of Monroe excluded that intervention and that if they ever should seek mediation, they would prefer that of Brazil.<sup>15</sup>

While confessing his admiration for England, Tavares Bastos, the brilliant young publicist, had written on March 30, 1862, in his *Cartas do solitario*, that his countrymen ought to study the United States. "Do we seek to draw closer to Europe?" he asked. His reply was, "Let us cultivate the United States." Again, in the Chamber of Deputies on July 8 of the same year, Tavares Bastos, Rio-Branco recalled, had urged closer relations by declaring:

I am convinced that even from the political point of view the relations with the United States of North America are those most appropriate for Brazil. We should cultivate them and develop them, above all because, after the present struggle—a glorious struggle, for it is one of liberty against servitude, of progress against barbarism—a rôle of incalculable importance has been reserved for the great Republic of Washington in the destiny of the world. I need not point out the reasons that link the commerce of the two countries, the affinities between their agricultures, between their means of transportation, between the moral and material constitution of their peoples.<sup>16</sup>

In the same article Rio-Branco presents other interesting examples of the long-established friendship between the two

<sup>15</sup> The baron is citing Antônio Pereira Pinto, *Apontamentos para o Direito Internacional* (Rio de Janeiro, 1865), II, 426. This seems to be the origin of the oft-repeated statement that if Abraham Lincoln had been willing to accept good offices to end the Civil War he would have preferred the mediation of Dom Pedro II.

<sup>16</sup> *Brasil e Estados Unidos da America*, pp. 28-30. See A. C. Tavares Bastos, *Cartas do solitario* (2nd ed., Rio de Janeiro, 1863), pp. 342-414.



peoples. Washington had often been the center of intrigues. Appeals for intervention against Brazil, even as late as 1903 and 1904, during his own ministry, in the course of the boundary disputes with Bolivia and Peru, were made to the White House by designing neighbors, but the government of the United States, though declining to assume the obligations of a formal ally, remained a faithful friend. Rio-Branco concludes his exposition with these words:

All the overtures made against this country in Washington from 1823 until the present time have always met with an insuperable barrier in the form of the ancient friendship which happily unites Brazil and the United States, and which the present generation has the duty of cultivating with the same earnestness and zeal of our forefathers.<sup>17</sup>

#### IV

This was the basis on which Rio-Branco and Nabuco were to build; and if in the chancellor's mind there were any reservations as to the wisdom of an unqualifiedly American policy, there were none in the ambassador's. The baron could not have chosen a better man than that consummate diplomat, genial scholar, and noble soul, Joaquim Aurélio Nabuco de Araújo. Like the baron he was the son of an eminent statesman of the empire<sup>18</sup> and was one of the first Brazilian leaders of his day to discern the shift of power from the Old World to the New, particularly to the United States. While still head of the Brazilian legation in London he wrote in his diary:

Small political importance of the Legation, its financial importance. Politically that of Washington is worth all of Europe. Financially it will become more important every day.<sup>19</sup>

England had supplied Brazil with capital during the nineteenth century, and the stabilization of finances under President Campos Sales was achieved by means of a British loan.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *Brasil e Estados Unidos da America*, p. 34.

<sup>18</sup> José Tomaz Nabuco de Araújo (1813-1878).

<sup>19</sup> Carolina Nabuco, *op. cit.*, p. 410.

<sup>20</sup> João Pandiá Calógeras, *Formação Histórica do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1930), pp. 444 *et seq.*

But, as Nabuco foresaw, the future was to bring American money more and more into prominence.

Sr. Nabuco was greeted cordially when he presented his credentials to President Roosevelt. The following paragraphs from his formal address express his attitude toward the United States:

My first duty, Mr. President, as I take over this new post, is to present to Your Excellency the cordial wishes of the President of the Republic [of Brazil], of his Government, and of the Brazilian nation for the personal happiness of Your Excellency and for the success of the new administration. The Roman Consulate had a shorter term than the American Presidency, yet Rome remembered the glories of her history by the names of her consuls.

In your position there are hours that become epochs, acts that remain as immutable national policies. Thus may we explain the perpetuity of Monroe's administration, as well as of the administrations of Washington and Lincoln. The notable popularity which carried you to supreme power seems to the world a presage of one of those decisions that mark, like theirs [*i.e.*, Washington's, Monroe's, and Lincoln's], milestones along the highway of our Continent. The fact is that the position of this country in the world still affords it the power to take great steps in the direction of a common American ideal.

For our part we shall always watch the United States take them with the same continental interest and the same feeling of national security that we have experienced up to the present time. Indeed, Brazil's heartiest wishes are for the increase of the vast moral influence that the United States exercises upon the march of civilization and which is expressed by the existence in the world for the first time in history of a vast neutral zone of peace and free human competition.

We are confident that this influence will become still more beneficial in the future, not only for the two Americas but also for the whole world.<sup>21</sup>

The new ambassador rapidly made friendships that lasted until his death. He endeared himself to men in high places, who in turn aided him in Congress when Brazilian interests were in jeopardy. With his charming manner and distinguished appearance, he was a popular speaker at university convoca-

<sup>21</sup> Carolina Nabuco, *op. cit.*, p. 414.



tions and at other functions. His English pronunciation was good and his prose excellent. He took advantage of the fondness of Americans for public addresses, especially by foreign visitors. While he paid tribute to the material achievements of the United States, he could not forbear stressing the cultural values of Latin America.

His breadth of view is illustrated by the following passage from an address delivered at the University of Chicago on August 28, 1908:

You with your high civilization can do no wrong to any nation. Intimate contact with you will, therefore, under whatever conditions bring only good and progress to the other party.

The only certain effect I can see of a permanent and intimate intercourse of Latin America with you is that it would be slowly *Americanized*; that is, that it would be in different measures, penetrated with your optimism, your self-reliance and your energy. It would be a treatment by electricity. I do not mean that we would ever attain your speed. Nor do we wish it. You have broken the record of human activity without breaking the rhythm of life. You have made a new rhythm for yourselves. We could never do that. For the Latin races *festina lente* is the rule of health and stability. And let me say it is good for mankind that all its races do not go at the same step, that they do not all run. The reign of science has not yet begun, and only in the age of science mankind might attain to uniformity without beginning at once to decay. Dignity of life, culture, happiness, freedom, may be enjoyed by nations moving slowly, provided they move steadily forward.<sup>22</sup>

Zealous of the interests of his own country, enamoured of the land in which he so devotedly represented it, dedicated to the generous vision of a united New World, Nabuco was the peerless ambassador. But his post was not always an easy one, as his daughter reveals in *A vida de Joaquim Nabuco*. He wrote to Rio-Branco:

I am dedicating the rest of my active life to the intimate approximation of the two countries, an objective which cannot be attained by a single agent or a single minister, nor by two administrations in agreement here and there, but only by the constant work through the years of many statesmen and diplomats on both sides.

<sup>22</sup> *The Approach of the Two Americas* (International Conciliation Pamphlet No. 10, New York, Sept. 1908), pp. 5 *et seq.*

. . . You, who well realize that I do not know how to do anything without the aid of my own conviction, and without enthusiasm, might just as well think about finding a substitute for me if our foreign policy should go through this transformation of changing its axis of security.<sup>23</sup>

Occupied with many other matters, Rio-Branco often did not share Nabuco's enthusiasm for Pan-Americanism. With the ambassador, the movement was virtually a soul-consuming passion.<sup>24</sup>

Nabuco suffered keenly from the delays and disappointments that occasionally attended his efforts. A case in point was the difficulties encountered in the negotiation of an arbitration treaty between Brazil and the United States. Secretary Root had set his heart on its conclusion during his tenure of office, and Nabuco was equally anxious to see it consummated. The agreement was finally signed on January 26, 1909, but it was not ratified by the contracting parties until after the ambassador's death.<sup>25</sup>

It pained Sr. Nabuco to see Rui Barbosa and Rufus Choate take opposite sides at The Hague Peace Conference;<sup>26</sup> he felt as if he were preaching in a desert. But he was reassured by his loyal friend Elihu Root, who said to him in confidence:

I proposed nothing myself at The Hague. I desired simply that our delegation might always be found on the side of good sense on all questions which might be raised. Had I had anything to propose, had I had any result in mind, I would have asked you to help me.<sup>27</sup>

Despite moments of depression, Nabuco never lost his faith; he could see that his American policy was on the whole as successful as could be reasonably expected. Writing to his friend J. C. Rodrigues on August 3, 1909, he said:

While the thinker in me would like to withdraw from the struggle, the Brazilian in me seeks to remain in it to the end, if possible to

<sup>23</sup> Carolina Nabuco, *op. cit.*, p. 465.      <sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 464.

<sup>25</sup> Ratified by Brazil on January 2, 1911, and by the United States on March 1 of the same year. It is still in effect. See Hildebrando Accioly, *Actos Internacionais Vigentes no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1927), p. 202.

<sup>26</sup> James Brown Scott, *The Proceedings of The Hague Peace Conferences* (5 vols., New York, 1921), II, 10 *et seq.*, 827-830.

<sup>27</sup> Carolina Nabuco, *op. cit.*, p. 465.



die in it; for I do not know who would succeed me in the Embassy, or if my successor would have the same intuition about our American future.<sup>28</sup>

## V

During the first part of the nineteenth century, when Brazil advocated an offensive and defensive alliance with the United States, Brazilian statesmen thought in terms of hemispheric unity. Subsequently, certain differences that distinguished imperial Brazil from her neighbors kept her aloof from the Latin-American scene. Dr. J. F. Normano, contemporary student of Brazilian problems, lists these differences as "the monarchical form of government, the family ties with the Austrian royal family, the differences in origin and language, the boundary questions with several neighbors, and the slavery question."<sup>29</sup> Again, the Brazilian conception of continentalism tended to direct the country toward the United States and not toward Argentina and the other Spanish-speaking republics. Finally, Brazil, like the United States, was long absorbed in domestic problems. It was not, therefore, until the end of the century, especially after the Washington government's interest in Pan-American congresses became more manifest, that there was a revival of the desire for continental solidarity.<sup>30</sup>

The assembling of the Third International Conference of American States in Rio de Janeiro in 1906 was an indication of Rio-Branco's interest in Pan-Americanism and of his friendly feeling toward the United States. In welcoming the delegates to the Brazilian capital, the baron said in part:

The idea that the grouping of men is made only against other men is still a disagreeable survival of the past, when pessimism constituted the only lesson taught by history. The meeting of this Conference may perhaps give rise to the suspicion that we are forming an international league against interests not represented here. It is therefore necessary to affirm that formally or implicitly, all interests will be respected by us, that in the discussion of political and commercial subjects, submitted for consideration to the Conference, it is not our

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 466.

<sup>29</sup> *The Struggle for South America* (Boston, 1931), p. 119.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

intention to work against anybody, and that our sole aim is to bring about a closer union among American nations, to provide for their well-being and rapid progress; and the accomplishment of these objects can only be of advantage to Europe and to the rest of the world.<sup>31</sup>

He then went on to acknowledge Latin America's indebtedness to Europe for cultural inspiration and financial aid.

The Pan-American movement was not a religion with Rio-Branco as it was with Nabuco, but the Brazilian minister of foreign affairs gave it his earnest support. His farewell remarks to the Conference, on August 27, 1906, were a plea for inter-American understanding:

. . . Brazilian patriotism has nothing aggressive, and . . . more by actions than by words, faithful to the traditions of our foreign policy, we shall ever labor to strengthen our good relations with the countries of our continent, and particularly with those nearest us. Popular opinion sometimes goes astray. Not seldom, a storm of insanity, awakening barbarous instincts, harasses and arouses even the most cultured and kind-hearted peoples. The duty of the statesman, the duty of all men of political sense, is to battle against the stirring up of international hatred and bickerings.

Neither can a dense population, nor any hardships of material life, render Brazil an object of suspicion to the other nations who occupy our American Continent. What we wish for the border Republics and for every one of the nations of America is only peace, intelligent initiatives and fruitful endeavors, so that while prospering and flourishing, they may stand out as a shining example and a stimulus to the peaceful exercise of our energies, like our great and glorious sister of the North, the promoter of these useful Conferences.<sup>32</sup>

The visit of Elihu Root to Brazil in connection with the Conference was a high-water mark in Brazilian-American relations. Welcomed in Rio de Janeiro with almost delirious enthusiasm, especially by the students,<sup>33</sup> Mr. Root was the first American secretary of state to visit a foreign country during his term of office. Sr. Nabuco, the president of the Conference, who remarked that "we all feel happy that the

<sup>31</sup> *Third International American Conference, 1906. Minutes. Resolutions. Documents* (Rio de Janeiro, 1907), pp. 39 et seq.

<sup>32</sup> *Third International American Conference*, p. 405.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93.



first visit was to Latin America,'<sup>34</sup> might well have felt a personal pride in the event, for Root's friendship with the ambassador was an important factor in inducing the secretary to make the unprecedented gesture. Out of respect for the distinguished delegate, the president of Brazil, on July 31, 1906, the day of Mr. Root's reception by the Conference, changed the name of the building where the sessions were held to Monroe Palace.<sup>35</sup>

In the course of his address in response to Sr. Nabuco's welcome, Root disavowed any intention of territorial aggrandizement on the part of the United States, and referred to the forthcoming conference of world powers at The Hague. He hoped that all the American nations might be represented there "with the acknowledged rights of equal sovereign states. . . ."<sup>36</sup>

## VI

We may at this point appropriately point out that Rio-Branco did not regard the Monroe Doctrine as a unilateral pronouncement for the self-defense of the United States, which likewise reserves to itself the right to determine what its conduct shall be in a given emergency.<sup>37</sup> He "asserted it, not as the exclusive concern of any one nation, but as the direct and immediate concern of all the American nations."<sup>38</sup>

The Brazilian idea of the Monroe Doctrine is described by Professor Clovis Bevilacqua in these terms:

From the American point of view, the Monroe Doctrine, like the Pan-American congresses which, since 1826, have met in America, is an expression of the consciousness of its unity, revealed by the continent, and the affirmation that the nations of this hemisphere ought to be considered as equally free and sovereign by the powers of the Old World; that their territory cannot, therefore, be acquired by them by any title, nor even temporarily occupied. From the general

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98. The edifice was originally built to house the Brazilian exhibit at the St. Louis Exposition.

<sup>36</sup> *Third International American Conference*, pp. 88 *et seq.*

<sup>37</sup> See Charles Evans Hughes, "Observations on the Monroe Doctrine," *American Journal of International Law*, XVII (1923), 615-628.

<sup>38</sup> John Bassett Moore, *The Principles of American Diplomacy* (New York, 1918), p. 414.

point of view, the Monroe Doctrine is the same principle of abstention proclaimed by international law, but it loses its purely abstract and innocuous form by assuming a practical aspect and by providing itself with a sanction.<sup>39</sup>

The collectivistic nature of the Monroe Doctrine was similarly expressed by Dr. Félix Pacheco, Brazilian minister of foreign affairs, in his address of December 2, 1923, delivered before the Brazilian Society of International Law.

The Monroe Doctrine may be held as, and in reality it is, the outward and visible sign of the inward vitality of America, set down in a solemn declaration which is gloriously holding its own through the storms of time and the passing of innumerable incidents born of it.

All the subtleties of interpretation are as naught in the face of its chief subsisting factor: the union of the political idea of the continent, defining a line of international ethics, which neither isolates us nor keeps us aloof from the remaining nations of the globe but safely guards and defends us between the two immense oceans in which our opulent and extensive dominions lie.<sup>40</sup>

At the time of the Acre controversy, the Baron do Rio-Branco vigorously invoked the Monroe Doctrine in resisting the efforts of the Bolivian Syndicate, an Anglo-American concern, to establish a state within a state by virtue of almost sovereign rights granted to it by the Bolivian government in territory in dispute between Brazil and Bolivia.<sup>41</sup> In his report to the president of December 27, 1903, Rio-Branco described the venture as "the first attempt to introduce on our continent the African and Asiatic system of *chartered*

<sup>39</sup> *Direito Publico Internacional* (2 vols., Rio de Janeiro, 1910), I, 171-172.

<sup>40</sup> *The Monroe Doctrine Centenary* (Rio de Janeiro, 1924), p. 53. For an emphatic assertion of the collectivistic theory of the Monroe Doctrine, consult the editorial from the *Correio da Manhã*, Rio de Janeiro, March 30, 1903, enclosure with David E. Thompson, United States minister to Brazil, to Hay, Rio de Janeiro, April 16, 1903, No. 11, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1903* (Washington, 1904), pp. 24-27. See also reprints of short articles by Manuel de Oliveira Lima, Brazilian diplomat and publicist, in Alejandro Álvarez, *The Monroe Doctrine, Its Importance in the International Life of the States of the New World* (New York, 1924), pp. 281-293.

<sup>41</sup> The dispute was settled amicably by the Treaty of Petrópolis of November 17, 1903. Consult the author's "The Boundary Controversy in the Upper Amazon between Brazil, Bolivia, and Peru, 1903-1909," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XIV (1934), 427 *et seq.*



*companies,"* and considered it a "menace" to the "security of this continent."<sup>42</sup>

At the Fourth International Conference of American States held in Buenos Aires in 1910, Rio-Branco planned to have the Brazilian delegation urge the adoption of a formal declaration, prepared by Sr. Nabuco shortly before his death, acknowledging the beneficial character of the Monroe Doctrine.

The long stretch of time since the declaration of the Monroe Doctrine enables us to recognize in it a permanent factor for international peace on the American continent. For that reason Latin America, celebrating the first efforts to gain her independence, sends to her great northern sister the expression of her gratitude for that noble and disinterested initiative which has been of such great benefit to the world.<sup>43</sup>

Rio-Branco did not wish to precipitate a public debate of the Monroe Doctrine in the plenary session of the Conference. This, he felt, would foredoom the declaration to failure. Instead, he instructed the president of the Brazilian delegation to sound out the feelings of the Argentine and Chilean representatives on the subject. If, after such consultation, the proposal did not arouse opposition, and if it seemed likely to win the support of the majority of the Conference, the chief Brazilian delegate was authorized to present it to the general assembly. If, however, these objectives proved unattainable, the resolution was not to be introduced at all.<sup>44</sup>

The preliminary meetings provoked an interesting confidential exchange of ideas and a discussion of projects, but Rio-Branco's proposal was received coldly. Some of the delegates, especially the Chilean, felt that the adoption of such a measure would sanction the hegemony of the United States,

<sup>42</sup> John Bassett Moore, *Digest of International Law* (8 vols., Washington, 1906), VI, 441-442.

<sup>43</sup> *Brasil e Estados Unidos da America*, pp. 39 *et seq.* Nabuco's declaration read as follows: "O largo periodo decorrido desde a declaração da doutrina de Monroe habilita-nos a reconhecer nella um factor permanente da paz externa do continente americano. Por isso, festejando os primeiros esforços para a sua independencia, a America Latina envia á grande irmã do norte a expressão do seu reconhecimento por aquella nobre e desinteressada iniciativa, de tão grande beneficio para todo o novo mundo."

<sup>44</sup> João Pandiá Calógeras, *Relações Exteriores do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1911), pp. 35 *et seq.*

which they were by no means inclined to admit. As a result, the resolution, to the baron's keen disappointment, was never presented to the Conference.<sup>45</sup>

## VII

Rio-Branco did not neglect the needs of foreign trade during his tenure of office, which, he felt, could be largely met by obtaining favorable treatment for Brazilian products in the American market. The United States and Brazil had concluded a special customs agreement in Washington on January 31, 1891, but the pact had been subsequently denounced by the Brazilian government and ceased to operate as of January 1, 1895.<sup>46</sup>

A new tariff agreement, permitting the free entry of Brazilian coffee, was signed with the United States in 1903. By a law of December 30 of the same year, the Brazilian government, in return for the concession, granted a twenty per cent differential tariff on certain commodities imported from the United States. These included, in 1906, flour, condensed milk, certain rubber products, watches and clocks, inks (except those used for writing), varnishes, typewriters, refrigerators, scales, windmills, and pianos.<sup>47</sup>

The reciprocal agreement was threatened in 1909 by the advocacy in the United States Congress of a tariff on coffee imports. Representative Payne, father of the proposal, urged the tax on the ground that it would compensate for the export tax levied on coffee shipments by the Brazilian states, which he held was unjust to consuming countries like the United States. Puerto Rican coffee growers, as well as American importers who were accumulating large stocks of Brazilian coffee in anticipation of the new levy, lobbied in Congress for the enactment of the tariff.

Rio-Branco instructed Nabuco to do what he could to prevent the passage of the bill. The ambassador's successful

<sup>45</sup> Alejandro Álvarez, *op. cit.*, pp. 23 *et seq.*; Appendix XXX, p. 193.

<sup>46</sup> J. M. Cardoso de Oliveira, *Actos Diplomáticos do Brasil* (2 vols., Rio de Janeiro, 1912), II, 179.

<sup>47</sup> See *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1908* (Washington, 1912), p. 48; also the same series, 1906 (Washington, 1909), Part I, p. 113.



campaign in behalf of the free entry of his country's staple was one of the major efforts of his career in Washington. Courteously but firmly, he told the American secretary of state that if a duty were placed on coffee Brazil would be obliged to withdraw the concessions she had been making to American exporters. He revealed that one speculator, with coffee stocks totaling \$50,000,000 in value, was lobbying for the bill; and he appealed to his many friends in and out of Congress to use their efforts to defeat the measure. His friends, especially Senator Elihu Root and Representative Douglas, did not fail him. Promulgated on August 6, 1909, the new tariff gave free entry not only to coffee but also to cocoa, rubber, and hides.<sup>48</sup> The special reciprocity agreement which obtained until 1923 when the American government, in accordance with the Tariff Act of 1922, notified Brazil that in the future it could expect only "most favored nation" treatment,<sup>49</sup> was one of the few the United States ever negotiated prior to the Roosevelt-Hull reciprocal trade program, and was for years the pride of the Republican Party.<sup>50</sup>

### VIII

In 1909, with the aid of the diplomatic skill of Nabuco, Rio-Branco was able to serve the United States and Chile by extending the good offices of Brazil in the vexatious Alsop case which threatened, in November of that year, to disrupt diplomatic relations between the two countries. According to the complaint of the Alsop firm, which the United States supported, Chile denied the validity of certain mining concessions granted by Bolivia in territory that passed to Chilean jurisdiction after the War of the Pacific.

The two governments were unable to reach a solution. Washington was willing to arbitrate, but insisted that Chile, in her presentation of the case, should not question the right of the United States to interpose on behalf of the payment of

<sup>48</sup> Carolina Nabuco, *op. cit.*, pp. 472 *et seq.*

<sup>49</sup> "Most favored nation" treatment was reciprocally accorded in the commercial treaty between Brazil and the United States concluded by the exchange of notes in Washington on October 18, 1923. See Hildebrando Accioly, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>50</sup> See editorial in *The New York Times*, October 4, 1932.

a claim due a private citizen. This Chile refused to do. With the refusal, therefore, of the Chilean government to recede from its position, Secretary of State Philander C. Knox, on November 18, 1909, sent an ultimatum. He allowed Santiago ten days in which to choose either one of the American proposals for payment of the Alsop claim, or the severance of diplomatic relations.

In constant communication by cable with Rio-Branco, Nabuco worked energetically to conciliate the offended governments. At first he had Senator Root intercede with Mr. Knox; later, he himself went to the secretary's residence to suggest the acceptance by the United States of the Chilean government's offer to submit the difficulties to a third government as *amiable compositeur*. It seems that Secretary Knox was not quite sure of the diplomatic principle involved. Furthermore, he suspected that it was another dilatory subterfuge on the part of the Chilean government. After a conference of three hours with Sr. Nabuco, he agreed to accept the good offices of Brazil. The Chilean press expressed great satisfaction over the arrangement made by the Brazilian ambassador, and the embassy received the official thanks both of the United States and Chile.<sup>51</sup> At the suggestion of the United States, and with the approval of Chile, the solution of the question was finally entrusted to Edward VII of England.<sup>52</sup>

## IX

The death of Joaquim Nabuco on January 17, 1910, deprived Brazil of an ambassador *par excellence* and the United States of a warm friend. Pan-Americanism, as has been said, was a veritable passion with him; and from the moment of his arrival in Washington to the day of his death, he labored valiantly to dispel the almost complete ignorance of his country that existed in the United States. Elihu Root was fortunate in having enjoyed his coöperation. As Carolina Nabuco so admirably writes:

<sup>51</sup> Carolina Nabuco, *op. cit.*, pp. 476 *et seq.*

<sup>52</sup> Clovis Bevilacqua, *Direito Publico Internacional* (2 vols., Rio de Janeiro, 1911), II, 178.



Between him and Nabuco . . . there was from the beginning the most complete harmony of view, by reason of a just appreciation of reciprocal qualities and an understanding that soon developed into sincere friendship. Root used to say that Nabuco was, of all men he had seen, the one who best achieved his conception of an ambassador, and Nabuco used to write in his diary that Root "is a friend whose esteem is for me one of the satisfactions of my career."

Root made of Pan-Americanism, with the constant collaboration of Nabuco, one of the principal features of his program. They rivalled each other in their zeal for the cause. "I am very much satisfied," Root wrote to him after delivering a speech, "that you liked what I told the Central Americans. It was a bit of the gospel of common sense, of which you and I are both missionaries."

"He is unique among his kind in his interest in Latin America," Nabuco on his part wrote to Rio-Branco.<sup>53</sup>

Many sincere tributes were paid to Nabuco by the United States press at the time of his death. Of him John Barrett, then director of the Pan-American Union, said:

With all his powers as a great statesman and his brilliant intellectual qualities, he labored with Elihu Root to develop among the American nations the spirit of organization, good-will, and solidarity. . . . His name will go down in history as one of the notable figures in Pan-American progress.<sup>54</sup>

The Baron do Rio-Branco survived his great ambassador by slightly more than two years. Each in his own way had furthered the Pan-American movement; each may be said to have helped in building the foundation upon which lies the present close coöperation between Brazil and the United States. It may not be rash to predict that the two countries will form the nucleus of a partnership of American nations that will steer clear of the pitfalls of the past.

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<sup>53</sup> Carolina Nabuco, *op. cit.*, p. 416. The last five chapters give an intimate picture of Nabuco's career as ambassador in Washington and furnish information about Nabuco's relations with Rio-Branco never before published.

<sup>54</sup> Carolina Nabuco, *op. cit.*, pp. 488 *et seq.*

## RUBBER RIVER: AN ACCOUNT OF THE RISE AND COLLAPSE OF THE AMAZON BOOM

Francisco de Orellana's voyage down the Amazon in the middle of the sixteenth century was the prelude to a long and exciting period of South American history culminating in the feverish seventy-five years of the great rubber boom that finally collapsed in 1910. The first three hundred years of this history were adventurous ones; intrepid Jesuit and Carmelite fathers penetrated the farthest recesses of the Amazon valley in pursuit of their missionary objectives. The expulsion of the Black Robes from all the Portuguese colonies by the Marquis of Pombal in 1757 ended the firm but gentle sway which they had exercised over the scattered Indian tribes. They had, in addition, made another contribution to Portuguese power. By their assistance in consolidating far to the west the domains of Lisbon, they had balked Spain in her desire to move as deep into the heart of the continent as possible. The century following the departure of the Jesuits witnessed an orderly, if comparatively uneventful, development of agriculture. The chief features of this period were the transition from a colonial to an independent status, and the ensuing decade of violence and disorder.<sup>1</sup>

### I

Until the discovery by Charles Goodyear that rubber could be made useful by means of vulcanization, the sticky substance had been largely a curiosity. The Indians of the Amazon had long been familiar with it and used it for waterproofing and to make primitive playthings. A few efforts had also been made to export it in the form of rubber shoes, but progress along commercial lines was limited because the natural product was too easily affected by weather conditions. Vulcan-

<sup>1</sup> Basílio de Magalhães, *Expansão Geographica do Brasil Colonial* (2nd ed., São Paulo, 1935), pp. 184-196; J. Fred Rippy and Jean Paul Nelson, *Crusaders of the Jungle* (Chapel Hill, 1936), *passim*.



ization opened a new era for rubber; and life began to stir in the valley after 1850.

The first sign of activity was the organization of the Companhia de Navegação do Amazonas, holding a monopolistic charter from the Brazilian government to exploit steam navigation throughout the Amazon and its tributaries. Distance and difficulty of transportation have always been inexorable facts in the history of the river. The Companhia do Amazonas, as it was known, was an encouraging step in the solution of the problem. The service which the company provided was both good and extensive. Through its facilities alone could rubber be transported expeditiously, and in large quantities, to the great markets at Belém and Manaus.

Financially, the company was profitable. Its charter provided for a substantial subsidy from the federal government with the qualification that it would be paid as long as dividends did not exceed twelve per cent. It was not long before profits went beyond this limit. In order to retain the subsidy, the company proceeded to increase the face value of the original stock so that, within a dozen years, actual dividends on this stock amounted to some thirty and forty per cent annually. Thus it was possible for the original shareholders to take all the profits and at the same time continue to receive an unneeded subsidy. Such practices were at times criticized by conscientious officers of the government, but the attack against them was never carried out successfully.

In 1874 the entire assets were bought by an English group which reorganized the concern as the Amazon Steam Navigation Company, capitalized at six hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds. The British had now only to sit back and enjoy the profits since the real pioneering work and development had been done by the Brazilians. The British firm did nothing more than maintain and expand the existing shipping facilities, but it should be added that the furnishing of good river transportation was in itself a vital contribution to the growth of the rubber industry.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> William R. Manning, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States, Inter-American Affairs, 1831-1860*, II (Washington, 1932), p. 455; A. C. Tavares Bastos, *O Valle do Amazonas* (2nd ed., São Paulo, 1937), pp. 176-195 (the first edition

The second sign of changing times was the effort to attract immigration. Rubber required large quantities of cheap and hardy labor. All that was available was the native Indian whose numbers were altogether too small to furnish what was demanded. Furthermore, the Indian in his docility was not sturdy enough to withstand the monotony of regular employment, the physical hardships of rubber gathering, or the brutality of forced labor. Consequently, he either perished in his work or retired into unused lands in order to escape servitude. The only solution to the problem was the importation of labor.

During the course of rubber prosperity numerous attempts were made to attract settlers on a large scale. All schemes ended in failure. Several efforts were designed to secure Japanese labor, but few Japanese appeared. Others involved were Europeans, yet the vast majority of the few who actually reached the valley died from the ravages of disease and malnutrition.

One of the extremely interesting experiments concerned Confederate exiles. These were Southerners ruined by the Civil War and disgusted with the Reconstruction. Rather than continue to live under such conditions, several thousands of them made plans to start life anew in other parts of the world. The majority of those who went to Brazil established themselves in the southern part of the country, but one group settled at Santarém, on the Tapajoz River. Matters went badly from the start. The settlers at Santarém arrived without adequate knowledge of the country to which they had come. Moreover, they possessed no money and little equipment, and spoke no Portuguese. Few of them had ever done any actual physical labor, and many in the group were too old to begin life in the tropics. Before long, most of the colonists were clamoring to return to the United States, convinced that the Reconstruction was preferable to the hardships of a pioneering experience. And despite their total lack

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was published in 1866); *Relatorio do Ministro de Obras Publicas, 1866* (Rio de Janeiro, 1866), pp. 133 *et seq.*

of resources, many of the dissatisfied exiles managed to be repatriated.<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, some Americans did remain; and their descendents are still to be found, though they seldom speak English or have more than a hazy recollection of their background. Some have prospered, and the two sons of an original settler have one of the few successful rubber plantations in the valley. The general failure, however, was a source of great disappointment to those who had hoped that the venture might be the beginning of a large-scale white immigration from the United States that would provide the hands needed for the rubber industry.

The labor situation appeared hopeless until Nature interposed her solution by bringing drought to Ceará. This northeast corner of Brazil had long been noted for its droughts, but none was more severe than the celebrated one of 1879. The inhabitants were faced with the choice of death or emigration, and, as a result, tens of thousands of people left for the Amazon. The *Cearenses* died almost as fast as they arrived, but the recruiters of labor were persuasive, and each cessation of the rains in Ceará was followed by a new exodus to the Amazon to take the place of those who had perished. This rapid and disastrous turnover in workers was a perennial source of concern, but as long as some sort of help was available the gathering of rubber in large quantities was possible. Rubber had at last secured its labor.<sup>4</sup>

The third indication of new life was the controversy over the opening of the Amazon to world traffic. The great Brazilian waterway was the last of the principal rivers of the world to remain closed. Even after the opening of the Río de la Plata prior to 1850, an event which might have served as a precedent, Brazil resolutely refused to follow the example of her southern neighbors. Thanks to the persuasiveness of

<sup>3</sup> See Lawrence F. Hill, *The Confederate Exodus to Latin America* (Columbus, 1936); William R. Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 510; and *Dados Estatísticos e informações para os Imigrantes* (Pará, 1886), p. 480.

<sup>4</sup> This account has been pieced together from articles and comments scattered through the *India Rubber World* of New York and the *Revista da Associação Commercial do Amazonas* of Manaus.



Lieutenant Matthew Fontaine Maury, the United States played a leading rôle in the movement to internationalize the Amazon. Maury was a hydrographer of solid reputation, and his efforts were brought to the attention of, and commended by, the American Congress.

The American public was also greatly intrigued by the possibilities of the Amazon valley, especially in the South, where southern ports looked forward to the expansion of their shipping trade. For all these reasons, therefore, the Navy Department ordered Lieutenants William L. Herndon and Lardner Gibbon to enter the Amazon region from the Pacific side of the continent, to follow the course of the river to its mouth, and to report their findings. The results of the undertaking convinced the proponents of the opening of the river that their dreams of the wealth of the valley were true.

Possibly alarmed at the exuberant manifestations of interest on the part of the American public, Brazil continued to be wary. Despite all diplomatic urgings, she steadfastly refused to yield. On the other hand, during the latter part of the 1850's, with the opening of the West to colonization and the brewing of those difficulties which form the background to the Civil War, the interest of the United States in the Amazon began to lag. As a consequence, the question was held in abeyance until 1864. By this time there had been a shift in Brazilian opinion which the visit of Professor Louis Agassiz and the concern of the emperor in his work powerfully aided. The result was the decree of December 7, 1866, opening the river and certain tributaries to the merchant shipping of the world. The third element vital to the full expansion of the rubber industry had thus been provided.<sup>5</sup>

## II

Until the overthrow of the monarchy in 1889, the rubber trade was characterized by a steady and reasonable growth.

<sup>5</sup> *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 22 (Free Navigation of the Amazon); *House Executive Documents*, 32 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 43 (Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon. Part 1, Lieutenant Herndon); *House Executive Documents*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 53 (Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon. Part II, Lieutenant Lardner Gibbon); *House Reports*, 33 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 95 (The Amazon River); A. C. Tavares Bastos, *op. cit.*, pp. 24 *et seq.*

Production continued to increase in volume, and prices tended to follow suit. Prosperity seemed a normal condition of life for the great centers of Belém and Manáus and their environs. Prices of commodities rose and some men waxed wealthy, but the boom had hardly begun. Rubber was not yet sufficiently in demand; the consumption of the product in Europe was still limited. A sharp economic rise in the valley first became apparent with the sudden emergence of the bicycle craze in the United States in the 1890's and the consequent demand for rubber tires. This coincided with a great increase in the use of rubber for many other articles. The final touch came with the invention of the automobile.<sup>6</sup>

The great boom years may be said to have extended from 1890 to 1910. It cannot, however, be asserted that these two decades witnessed an uninterrupted progression to the high level of three-dollar rubber in the early months of the latter year. Rather was the process a succession of waves which took prices to new levels, each rise being preceded by a sudden drop that brought the market to the brink of ruin. Such declines should have showed the rubber industry that a stabilizing factor was lacking in its economic organization. Each period provoked outbursts among those affected, but there was never at any time any recognition of the basic problems involved.

The first serious decline coincided with the panic of 1893 in the United States and created considerable uneasiness. Subsequently there were several minor declines. Yet all of them were no more than a prelude to the sharp drop of 1907-1908. The mid-months of 1907 had seen the rise of the price of rubber to such a height that many dealers expected to receive as much as two dollars per pound for their product. Hopes were dashed when prices were cut in half in the latter part of the year. This condition lasted until the early months of 1908 and gave rise to endless remorse for past sins. Before anything constructive could be done, the tide turned again, and pious resolutions gave way to boundless optimism. This marked the beginning of the dizzy spiral which culminated in

<sup>6</sup> *India Rubber World*, *passim*.

1910. In the frenzy which continuing strong prices created, all else was forgotten; and there were those who were heard to have expressed the belief that prices would continue to rise forever. In May, 1910, the top price passed three dollars, and the tension became well-nigh unbearable. Then, with a sudden crash, the flimsy structure collapsed. In one desperate dive prices were cut in half and thereafter continued to fall.<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, all future efforts at reconstruction were to be balked by the spectacular growth of Asiatic plantations which had played a conspicuous rôle in ending the hegemony of the Amazon.

### III

Not the least interesting aspect of the period of boom and collapse was the life of the men who lived in the valley and stood to profit or lose by market fluctuations. The personnel of the rubber industry was organized into a pyramid at the base of which were the *seringueiros*, or workers, who actually went out into the forests to gather the latex. They were very largely drawn from Ceará, and, in the isolation of the jungle, they were never free from disease, starvation, and exploitation. Their life was a closely controlled one. They brought their stocks of rubber to the *patrão*—the lessee of the area worked by *seringueiros*—and received credit from him, not money, which was used against needed supplies. Since the *seringueiro* could in no other way satisfy his wants, these supplies were sold to him at prices which barely allowed him enough for subsistence.

In return for supplies, the *patrão* disposed of his stocks of rubber through *aviadores*, or agents who made periodic visits to production centers. The former was subjected to much the same vicious system as the *seringueiro*. The agent took his rubber to the merchant princes in the great centers of Belém, Manáus, and Iquitos, whence it found its way to the principal consumption markets of the world. In the end the

<sup>7</sup> See *Política Económica, Defesa da Borracha, 1906-1914* (Rio de Janeiro, 1915); *Relatório da Comissão da Praça do Comércio do Pará, 1868-1900* (Pará, n.d.); *Revista da Associação Commercial do Amazonas, 1903-1918*; and *India Rubber World*.



leading firms and the government, which levied ad valorem taxes that averaged twenty per cent, drew the major share of the profits.<sup>8</sup>

Money was spent recklessly. Broad avenues began to grace colonial cities, and huge government buildings, waterworks, parks, docks, and theatres were built.<sup>9</sup> The wealthy lived in splendor, importing a wide variety of luxuries. Even in Iquitos, two thousand miles up the Amazon, manufactured articles from abroad could be had in abundance.

When rubber prices dropped from three dollars to one, the economic life of the valley was not able to support the shock. Buildings were deserted, elaborate mansions were left vacant, parks and avenues were abandoned, and grass again grew in many streets. Needless to say, the plight of the *seringueiro* was especially bad. No longer able to buy even the most meager supplies, he had no alternative but to stay in the jungle and rely on his own initiative. Other classes of society were also affected by the *débâcle*. Unfortunately, no significant part of the profits which had been made in the rubber trade was put to productive uses in the valley itself. In the last analysis, the real profits were made by manufacturers, although the work of the *seringueiro* was largely responsible for the prosperity of the rubber industry.<sup>10</sup>

One of the little-known aspects of life in the Amazon during the heyday of rubber concerns the several outstanding pioneers who, with a dogged determination, sought the farthest reaches of the valley in the quest for the precious latex. Among the most famous of their number were Funes at San Fernando de Atabapo, Julio César Araña in the Putumayo, and Nicolás Suárez of the Beni River.

In essence, the story of Suárez was the story of seven brothers who crossed the Andes in 1872 from the western part of the continent to see what lay on the other side of the moun-

<sup>8</sup> Consult Henry C. Pearson, *The Rubber Country of the Amazon* (New York, 1911).

<sup>9</sup> Lauro B. Bitancourt, *The State of Amazonas* (Chicago, 1893), *passim*.

<sup>10</sup> A wealth of material on this aspect of the boom is to be found scattered throughout the issues of the *India Rubber World*. Also of great interest are occasional passages from the accounts of many travellers. Official documents preferred to overlook this phase of Amazon history.

tains. But Nicolás was the unquestioned leader of the family, and he had the foresight to appreciate the future importance of rubber. He first secured a monopoly of the carrying trade on the Madeira River; then he supplied the local population with provisions. His rubber operations soon began to prosper. At one time he carried more than ten thousand employees on his payroll, including four hundred who devoted themselves exclusively to portage work around the falls of the Madeira.

His headquarters were at Cachuela Esperanza, but he maintained branches throughout the Amazon valley, the Acre, at Manáus, Belém, and London. The business details of the firm were left to his brothers; Nicolás himself was always to be found in the forests, supervising the actual labor. With a nominal capital of four million *bolivianos*, he controlled at least five million hectares of rubber lands, ranges on which grazed a quarter of a million head of his own cattle, a sugar-mill producing ten thousand arrobas of sugar annually, a power plant, an ice plant, and all the provision business of a vast area. His holdings were at one time probably worth between ninety and a hundred million *bolivianos*. In 1912 he refused twelve million pounds offered by an English company for his rubber holdings alone.

Ten years later, rubber in the Beni was practically worthless, but Suárez was far from destitute. He had had the foresight to vary his enterprises. Despite the crash in the rubber market, he was able to maintain his predominant position in the area.<sup>11</sup>

#### IV

It would indeed have been surprising if, at some time during the course of the rubber boom, there had not arisen a conflict between the Amazon nations, especially in view of the indeterminate status of many boundaries. The rubber man was no respecter of imaginary lines, and where he could find the coveted product thither he went regardless of political sovereignty.

<sup>11</sup> Ciro Torres López, *Las Maravillosas Tierras del Acre* (La Paz, 1930), pp. 227-276; Henry G. Pearson, *op. cit.*, p. 148; *India Rubber World*, April, 1903, and April, 1905; *United States Commercial Reports*, March 20, 1918.

The most notable controversy of the period involved the Acre territory. Long practically uninhabited and subject to the control of Bolivia, the Acre came into prominence when immigrants from Ceará finally penetrated the area and discovered enormous reserves of rubber. By 1900 the Brazilian settlers, who formed the greater part of the population, felt strong enough to contest Bolivian authority, but the rebellion, lacking support, was promptly suppressed.

Anxious to prevent a recurrence of violence, and conscious of her weak position, Bolivia thereupon leased the entire area to an international syndicate to which she granted monopolistic privileges and rights of sovereignty, including the power to police the Acre and collect revenues. The reaction in Brazil was instantaneous and brought a strong protest from the government.<sup>12</sup> Rio de Janeiro insisted that Bolivia had committed an illegal act by surrendering her sovereignty over the region to a private company, and felt that the undertaking constituted a menace to Brazil. Bolivia, however, refused to revoke the concession.

When, in 1902, Brazilians in the disputed territory again rose in revolt, they declared the independence of the region and petitioned for union with Brazil. When the Rio government now threatened to occupy the territory by force of arms if Bolivia should refuse to sell it, Bolivia chose the latter alternative. By the Treaty of Petrópolis of November 17, 1903, the Acre was ceded to Brazil in return for the sum of two million pounds. Ironically enough, the collapse of rubber deprived the Brazilian victory of much economic meaning, and after 1910, Brazil lost much of her interest in developing the area.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> The following State Department material (now in The National Archives) may be consulted: Diplomatic Despatches from Bolivia, 1900-1904; Diplomatic Despatches from Brazil, 1899-1905; Diplomatic Notes from the Bolivian Legation in Washington to the Department, 1900-1904; Diplomatic Notes from the Brazilian Legation in Washington to the Department, 1900-1904. See also *The Acre Territory, Documents concerning the Controversy between Brazil and Bolivia over a Contract Made with American Citizens* (Rio de Janeiro, 1903).

<sup>13</sup> See John Bassett Moore, ed., *Brazil and Bolivia, Boundary Settlement—Treaty for the Exchange of Territories and Other Concessions Signed at Petropolis, November 17, 1903. Together with the Report of Baron Rio Branco, Min-*



## V

During the years of rubber pre-eminence, and especially during periods of depression, the charge was frequently made that the Brazilian government took no constructive steps to ameliorate the conditions of the rubber industry. Official interest in the new source of wealth was early limited to the levying of taxes. Throughout the empire, the provincial and central governments shared the revenues. With the promulgation of the republican constitution of 1890, state and municipal authorities were given the exclusive use of the levy on rubber. Taxes were promptly increased; over a period of years they averaged roughly twenty per cent ad valorem, a considerable burden, indeed, on the industry and a perennial source of complaint.<sup>14</sup> There was seldom a year when taxes on rubber did not constitute at least three fourths of all state revenues in the Amazon area.

Prior to 1907 government interest in the industry centered mainly on taxation. Some individuals in high places, to be sure, were aware that unhealthy conditions of a dangerous nature existed, but their words of admonition passed unheeded. A few isolated attempts were made to introduce mildly remedial legislation, but here again all efforts proved abortive. Popular sentiment was in the main indifferent as long as prices continued to rise; periodic drops did not last long enough to make people vitally conscious of evils. From time to time legislation was passed to encourage plantation rubber or stimulate improvements in the technique of handling the wild variety. These efforts failed to secure results, and the old method of wild-rubber gathering continued. In fact, the complaint was usually made that if the government was really interested in the industry, it would lower taxes and stop giving advice.

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*ister of Foreign Relations* (New York, 1904); *Relatorio apresentado ao presidente da republica dos Estados Unidos do Brazil pelo ministro de estado das relações exteriores Dr. Olyntho de Magalhães* (Rio de Janeiro, 1902).

<sup>14</sup> *India Rubber World*, 1889-1907; *Relatorio da Comissão da Praça do Commercio do Pará, 1868-1900* (Pará, n.d.); *Politica Economica, Defesa da Borracha, 1906-1914* (Rio de Janeiro, 1915); *Laws for the Protection of the Rubber Industry* (New York, 1912).

The sharp decline of 1907-1908 created serious alarm in the market and led to several unsuccessful valorization schemes. The real rush of legislation came after 1910, when it was apparent that a definitive change had taken place in the rubber industry. Imploring appeals were made to Rio, resulting in the rubber defense law of 1912, one of the finest pieces of rubber legislation ever drafted. The drafters of the law realized that the only solution for the Amazon was to compete effectively with Asiatic plantation rubber.

A few voices had long attempted to call the attention of Brazil to the dangers of foreign competition, but the majority of rubber men refused to believe that the plantation method could lower the costs of production or supply the market with sufficient stocks. The realization that this could be done finally produced the Brazilian collapse. The country, however, woke up too late.

The defense law of 1912, in the attempt to make the Amazon a plantation center, offered advantageous concessions to planters, encouraged agriculture, specified improvements in transportation, provided for the organization of hospitals and medical facilities, and sought to attract immigrants. A fifty per cent reduction in export taxes was conceded on planted rubber. Excellent though the measure was, it obtained no results. Adequate appropriations were withheld, and management did not fully understand the opportunities within its reach. Moreover, the Far East enjoyed the great advantage of two decades of preliminary activity. Before the Amazon could be in a position to compete on the market, the British plantations would have successfully controlled consumption. In the face of these handicaps, no concerted planting was undertaken.<sup>15</sup>

Meanwhile, valorization schemes were tried. The Bank of Brazil brought itself to the verge of bankruptcy by buying rubber and holding it for a rise in prices which never occurred. Several other banks were organized for the same purpose with the assistance of foreign capital. Organizations of producers agreed to withhold stocks from the market. It was

<sup>15</sup> *Revista da Associação Commercial do Amazonas*, 1903-1918.

even proposed seriously that the government, because of its superior resources, should acquire the entire crop and hold it until the consumer could meet Brazilian demands. What the rubber men apparently did not realize was that the Amazon no longer controlled a sufficiently large proportion of the world crop to make the slightest impression on prices.<sup>16</sup>

## VI

The Far Eastern rubber industry owes its beginnings to Henry A. Wickam, a British planter from Santarém. In 1876 he smuggled several thousand rubber seeds from Brazil and sowed them in Kew Gardens in London. From there the young plants were sent to Ceylon, where they soon began to thrive. For a long time, the interest of Far Eastern planters in rubber was slight, but reverses in the tea market, the profits from the new product, and the dissatisfaction of manufacturers with natural rubber encouraged a number of individuals to persist in the growing of latex trees. In 1900 a small shipment of plantation sheet rubber from Malaya was offered for auction in London. In 1905 it began to appear regularly; after 1910 the supply from the Orient increased with fantastic rapidity.

In the futile effort to meet foreign competition, large-scale corporations were organized in Brazil for the growing of plantation rubber. The record of failures was disheartening. The Orton Rubber Company, established about the year 1897, eventually found it impossible to continue. Of some two hundred Basque settlers expressively brought over by the concern to Brazil, only six reached the company's property alive. The Amazon Rubber Estates, Limited, found its entire capital of three hundred thousand pounds gone before a single pound of rubber had been collected. The Comptoir Colonial Français, which took over a Brazilian property, lost one million dollars.

The most ambitious attempt was that of the Rubber Estates of Pará, Limited, formed in 1898 with a capital of three hundred and fifty thousand pounds to work an estate on Marajó Island with an estimated one million three hundred

<sup>16</sup> C. E. Akers, *Relatorio Sobre o Valle do Amazonas* (Rio de Janeiro, 1913), pp. 97 *et seq.*



thousand trees. Despite a previous record of production, the new company, during the first year of operation, collected exactly eighty and three-quarters tons of rubber; during the second, fifty-eight. A reorganization of the concern was agreed upon, but the venture did not prosper. On the contrary, the Rubber Estates reached the extreme of offering its properties for an annual rental of two hundred and fifty pounds.

A number of frankly promotional schemes were also offered to the gullible public. Typical of the hoaxes was the Peru Pará Rubber Company, with a reputed capital of three million dollars and an unlimited number of latex trees in some undisclosed part of South America, which advertised for investors in the Chicago newspapers of 1905. Contributors were promised dividends of seventy-five per cent for life.<sup>17</sup> Obviously, such shams by foreign promoters were not encouraging to those who wished to invest in legitimate enterprises.

The real obstacles in the way of plantation rubber in the Amazon were far more formidable than many people supposed. The greatest problem was labor, for the profitable gathering of latex depended on a large supply of fairly efficient and cheap hands. To be sure, the utilizable population of the valley amounted to about a million persons, but most of them were Indians who found it impossible to adjust themselves to the exigencies of the rubber industry. *Cearenses*, on the other hand, were much more satisfactory, but they perished in great numbers. Again, the government frowned on Oriental and African labor; and Europeans did not arrive in appreciable numbers. No practical solution was found then for the labor problem, nor has it been found today.

The second obstacle was the decay of native agriculture. In colonial times Pará had been self-sufficient in articles of basic consumption and had, in fact, produced an exportable surplus. The concentration on rubber forced dependence on imported foodstuffs which were eventually sold for three to six times their normal price. This was the unfortunate result

<sup>17</sup> *India Rubber World*, October, 1902; November, 1903; March, June, 1904; February, May, 1905.

of the irresistible lure of a cash crop of high value. The *seringueiro* thus found it more profitable to abandon his small garden plot and rely solely on imported articles. Such a supply of labor could hardly have been cheap. Indeed, a respectable share of the profits from the rubber trade probably was devoted to the support of workers who nevertheless lived perilously close to subsistence.<sup>18</sup>

The problem of sanitation was equally important. *Seringueiros* were scattered, for the most part, over areas where sanitation was entirely unknown, and were thus exposed to the ravages of jungle fevers and intestinal infections. In many areas, productivity was lowered at least one third through disease. The Brazilian commission that surveyed the state of Pará reported that conditions were bad except in parts of Belém. Moreover, medical facilities were to be found only in urban areas. In his survey made in accordance with the defense law of 1912, Dr. Oswaldo Cruz was shocked by the conditions he saw, but he did not look at the future with pessimism. Though the work would involve a tremendous outlay of money and effort, he believed that the sanitation of the valley was not impracticable.<sup>19</sup>

The problem of diet was the natural outcome of the decay of agriculture. The native settler of the Amazon had originally developed a diet which furnished him with the basic elements needed for health. With the development of the rubber industry, the dependence on importations led, in many instances, to disastrous consequences. Owing to high prices, the quantity of food the average *seringueiro* consumed was drastically reduced to an amount barely enough to maintain actual existence. Beri-beri, for example, became a terrible scourge. The effects of malnutrition not only told appallingly

<sup>18</sup> See *Questionários Sobre as Condições na Agricultura dos Municípios do Estado do Pará. Inspeccionados 1910-1912* (Rio de Janeiro, 1913), published by the Brazilian Ministry of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce. Much material on this subject is also to be found in *Política Económica, Defesa da Borracha. 1906-1914* (Rio de Janeiro, 1915); and in Manuel Barata, *A Antiga Produção e Exportação do Pará* (Belém, 1915).

<sup>19</sup> See the report of Dr. Oswaldo Cruz, cited in *Política Económica, Defesa da Borracha, 1906-1914* (Rio de Janeiro, 1915).

on the individual but also constituted a heavy drain on the rubber industry.<sup>20</sup>

The cost of transportation was also a heavy burden. Distances were enormous. Some two thousand miles of river separated Belém and Iquitos. The Putumayo was still farther away.<sup>21</sup> Another factor in the Amazon rubber trade was the speculative character of the industry. The boom may be said to have been a vast speculation in rubber, foodstuffs, labor, and foreign exchange. Part of the uncertainty may be readily understood. Rubber stocks came from wide and oftentimes unknown regions. Furthermore, the flow of latex varied with the rainfall. It was, therefore, impossible to foretell with any reasonable degree of accuracy what the yield in a given year would be.

The several obstacles touched on in the preceding paragraphs combined to make it impossible for the Amazon to compete with the Far East in the rubber trade. At no time did there seem to exist in Brazil a genuine effort to find a hopeful solution to the many problems which confronted the industry. Perhaps Brazilians realized that the Amazon hardly offered the necessary conditions for plantation rubber.

In this connection, it may be well to observe that the best example of the opportunities to be found in the production of plantation rubber, and also of the great difficulties involved, is the Henry Ford experiment in Brazil. Consisting of two and a half million acres one hundred and ten miles up the Tapajoz from its junction with the Amazon, the Ford property was originally obtained in 1927. Production on the plantations at Fordlândia and Belterra is even now beginning on a fair scale. To achieve his ends, Ford was obliged to build a modern town and undertake other extensive improvements. He has not been able to solve the labor problem satisfactorily; he has only with difficulty secured sufficient man-power for the needs of his projects; yet Ford has demonstrated the possibility of eradicating the various diseases which attack the planted tree in the Amazon and of producing a

<sup>20</sup> The sources mentioned in note 18 also give information on this point.

<sup>21</sup> See The Amazon Steam Navigation Company, Ltd., *Notes on the Amazon and its Tributaries and Steamer Services* (London, 1904).



latex that can compete with Asiatic rubber in quality and cost. He has also shown that obstacles to healthful living and sanitation in the valley are by no means insuperable.

## VII

The practicability of plantations and the immediate prospect for wild rubber in the Amazon assume a great importance today. The loss of Asiatic sources of supply has, of course, turned the attention of the United States to the potentialities of Brazil's rich valley; and rubber merchants there are endeavoring to satisfy as large a part of the demand as possible. In the main, wild rubber will be involved, since plantations require years of care and preparation before they reach a stage of satisfactory productivity. It is unlikely, however, that the rejuvenation of the wild rubber industry will be accompanied by the mistakes of the past. The bitter lessons of former days have been learned too well to give rise to a false optimism. Present indications are that the new phase of the trade will follow along economic and constructive lines.

To be sure, due recognition is being given to the problems which the possible widespread development of synthetic rubber will create. There seems to be no doubt that the synthetic product is in many respects comparable to the natural one.<sup>22</sup> If the former can be manufactured at a reasonable price, the demand for natural rubber will be considerably reduced, although a certain amount of latex will very likely continue to be used.

Even in the event of the complete success of synthetic rubber, the economic life of the Amazon need not suffer. Outside of rubber, the natural resources of the valley have scarcely been touched. A sound course of action would seem to be the exploitation of tropical forest products, drugs, nuts, timber, and plants. A beginning has already been made in such things as the cultivation of *timbó*, a weed used in the manufacture of insecticide.<sup>23</sup> Various rapid investigations have shown that possibilities along similar lines are great and

<sup>22</sup> *The New York Times*, February 11, 1940.

<sup>23</sup> Desmond Holdridge, "The Awakener of the Amazon," *This Week*, April 14, 1940.

only need further study to grow into positive results. Undoubtedly, a diversified extractive economy, resting on a solid agricultural foundation, would provide for the Amazon a far more reasonable development than would be possible under the sole rule of rubber.

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## THE GUERRA DOS EMBOABAS, CIVIL WAR IN MINAS GERAIS, 1708-1709<sup>1</sup>

Although the rapid development of any frontier country has always been accompanied by tension and disorder, many such regions have been able to rise from a state of virtual anarchy to one of comparative social stability without recourse to armed conflict. In Minas Gerais, where the discovery of gold created a multitude of difficult problems, that transition was not effected in a peaceful manner. Over a period of several months, from 1708 to 1709, the principal mining region of the Brazilian interior was the scene of bloody skirmishes between opposing factions. The forces of government and religion eventually restored a semblance of order out of an almost absolute chaos, but the *Guerra dos Emboabas*<sup>2</sup> between the natives of São Paulo on one hand, and "outsiders" from Baía, Rio, and Portugal on the other, left a festering sore which was not easily healed.

### I

Only a little more than a decade before the outbreak of hostilities, the news of the discovery of gold in Minas Gerais by São Paulo *bandeirantes* had been exultantly welcomed. "... those Mines," wrote a former governor-general of Baía, "are said to be of such extent that gold will be mined there as long as the World exists. . . ."<sup>3</sup> Earlier, in 1697, the governor of Rio could affirm that the Caeté mines alone "extend in such a fashion along the foot of a mountain that miners are

<sup>1</sup> This paper, read before the Institute of Ibero-American Studies, The Catholic University of America, on May 15, 1942, was made possible partly by a grant from the Social Science Research Council. Limitations of space prevent a detailed relation of the present study to the interpretation in standard printed authorities, such as Diogo de Vasconcelos, *Historia Antiga das Minas Geraes* (Belo Horizonte, 1904), pp. 199 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> The Portuguese in Minas Gerais were called *Emboabas*. See below, note 18.

<sup>3</sup> Dom Rodrigo da Costa to the king, Lisbon, June 19, 1706?, Arquivo Histórico Colonial de Lisboa (hereafter cited as A. H. C.), Doc. of Rio, No. 2917.



led to believe that the extraction of gold in that particular locality will be of great duration. . . ."<sup>4</sup> Even the *Conselho Ultramarino* of Lisbon was willing to believe that the mines were the richest that had ever been discovered.<sup>5</sup> Although fantastic rumors, embellished with each retelling, were accepted as truths, the fact remained that abundant deposits of the precious metal had at length been found, after so many years of futile search, in the "most expansive heart of that world Emporium," in that "resplendent diamond" of the finest quality which was Brazil.<sup>6</sup>

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the fondest hopes of Brazilians and Portuguese bid fair to be realized. Baltazar de Godói made some twenty arrobas<sup>7</sup> of gold, partly from mining and partly from farming. Francisco do Amaral collected more than fifty arrobas from his multiple pursuits in Minas Gerais. Manuel Nunes Viana and Manuel de Borba Gato each made slightly less. Garcia Rodrigues Pais and João Lopes de Lima collected five arrobas from their stream; Domingos da Silva Moreira, from mining and trade, five arrobas; Amador Bueno da Veiga, eight arrobas. Tomaz Ferreira was reputed at one time to have more than forty arrobas.<sup>8</sup> Dionísio da Costa found auriferous sand which is reported to have netted him a pound of gold in each panning.<sup>9</sup>

Such reports of enormous wealth naturally drew thousands of people to the interior. Over the three principal highways from São Paulo, Rio, and Baía, a steady stream of adventurers and pioneers—Brazilians and Portuguese, Negroes and Indians, mulattoes and mestizos, priests and laymen—poured into Minas Gerais. In Rio, the great entrepôt of the mining fields, the exodus of the free colonists threatened to depop-

<sup>4</sup> Artur de Sá e Meneses to the king, Rio, June 12, 1697, A. H. C., Doc. of Rio, No. 2080.

<sup>5</sup> Consulta of the Conselho Ultramarino, July 17, 1709, in A. H. C., Codex 232, Livro Primeiro das Consultas do Rio, fol. 257 verso.

<sup>6</sup> Dom Rodrigo da Costa, *doc. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> There are about 32 pounds to an arroba.

<sup>8</sup> André João Antonil (pseud. of João Antônio Andreoni), *Cultura e Opulencia do Brasil por suas drogas e minas* (ed. by Afonso d'Escragnolle Taunay, São Paulo, 1923), Parte III, Chap. VIII.

<sup>9</sup> Afonso d'Escragnolle Taunay, *Historia da Villa de São Paulo no século XVIII, 1701-1711* (São Paulo, 1931), p. 6.

ulate the city and the surrounding countryside. In São Paulo and Baía the same situation obtained; and even in Portugal the Province of Minho was so depleted of its man-power that it soon experienced a shortage of agricultural laborers. Certainly the history of Portuguese colonial expansion has witnessed no like displacement of people.<sup>10</sup>

On the eve of the *Guerra dos Emboabas*, the Jesuit Antonil had philosophically observed that "there is nothing so good that may not give rise to many evils. . . ."<sup>11</sup> During the first years of the gold rush, when the new Ophir harbored a heterogeneous population of some fifty thousand people,<sup>12</sup> the lust for the "beautiful and precious metal" gave a wide scope for action to all that the "covetousness of man" could desire. The priest describes the shocking crimes that remained unpunished, the venality of the many fugitive or apostate clerics who, in defiance of their superiors, led scandalous lives.<sup>13</sup> Brazil had never seen a more highly charged and corrupt society; nor one in which "haughtiness, lasciviousness, ambition, pride, and brazenness" reached such dangerous extremes.<sup>14</sup> In the thirst for gold, life and property were violated. Much bad blood existed between *Paulistas*, who were the original settlers, and the later arrivals from Portugal and other parts of Brazil. "No prudent person,"

<sup>10</sup> According to Augusto de Lima Júnior, more than 20,000 people annually left Portugal for Brazil from 1705 to 1750 (*A capitania das Minas Gerais [Suas origens e formação]*, Lisboa, 1940, p. 32).

<sup>11</sup> Antonil, *op. cit.*, Parte III, Chap. XVII.

<sup>12</sup> Filipe de Barros Pereira, amanuensis of Garcia Rodrigues Pais, to the king, Rio, September 17, 1705, A. H. C., Doc. of Rio, No. 3107. As early as 1697, when the rush began, more than 4,000 people were panning for gold in the Caeté area alone (Artur de Sá e Meneses, governor of Rio, to the king, Rio, June 12, 1697, A. H. C., Doc. of Rio, No. 2080). Félix Madureira e Gusmão, in his report of July 28, 1705? (A. H. C., Doc. of Rio, No. 2910), estimated the number of people in the Ouro Preto area at some six or seven thousand. The "Relação da victoria que os portuguezes alcançaram no Rio de Janeiro contra os francezes, em 19 de Setembro de 1710" (*Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, XXIII, 412) lists the population of Minas Gerais at 60,000. Antonil (*op. cit.*, Parte III, Chap. V) estimated it at more than 30,000.

<sup>13</sup> Antonil, *op. cit.*, Parte III, Chap. XVII.

<sup>14</sup> "Descrição geographica, topographica, historica e politica da capitania das Minas Geraes seu descobrimento, estado civil, politico e das rendas reais (1781)," *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, LXXI, Parte I, 126-127.

Antonil concludes, "will fail to realize that God permitted the discovery of so much gold in the mines to punish Brazil with it, just as He is punishing Europeans with iron at a time so plagued with wars."<sup>15</sup>

## II

Xavier da Veiga, author of a curious miscellany of information entitled *Ephemerides mineiras*, cites the oppression by the *Paulistas* and their unwillingness to share the control of Minas Gerais with the newcomers as the principal cause of the civil war of 1708-1709.<sup>16</sup> This observation by no means contains the whole truth, but it focuses attention on one of the important grounds for discontent. The *Paulistas* had never looked with favor upon the influx of people from other parts of Brazil, principally from Rio and Baía, and from the mother-country. Why should strangers profit from the discoveries which the natives of São Paulo, at the cost of much sacrifice, had made? Quite symptomatically, the São Paulo *Câmara*, in 1700, had requested the home government to limit the awarding of land grants in Minas Gerais to *Paulistas*. The governor of Rio held this demand to be unreasonable. It was clear to him, as he wrote to the king on June 20 of the following year, that the other residents of Brazil were also "vassals of Your Majesty."<sup>17</sup> In view of the governor's remarks, the petition was allowed to be forgotten; but the *Paulistas* did not resign themselves to the neglect of Lisbon.

They voiced their resentment against the intruders in Minas Gerais in opprobrious terms. People from Baía and northern Brazil were generally dubbed *Baianos*. Natives of Portugal and the Atlantic islands were called *Emboabas*, an Indian word of obscure etymology also applied to "foreigners" in general.<sup>18</sup> Proverbially vindictive, *Paulistas* were

<sup>15</sup> Antonil, *op. cit.*, Parte III, Chap. XVII.

<sup>16</sup> José Pedro Xavier da Veiga, *Ephemerides mineiras (1664-1897)* (2 vols., Ouro Preto, 1897), I, 246.

<sup>17</sup> Consulta of the Conselho Ultramarino, March 2, 1702, A. H. C., Codex 232, Livro Primeiro das Consultas do Rio, fol. 178 verso. Cf. *Actas da Camara Municipal de S. Paulo*, VIII, 157; and Vasconcelos, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

<sup>18</sup> Teodoro Sampaio, "O Tupi na Geographia Nacional," *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo*, VI, 534.



not loath to attack the persons and property of the detested encroachers. They resented the droves of "outsiders" who, unlike themselves, shunned the risks of mining for the often more lucrative occupation of buying and selling. They complained bitterly of the monopoly of the sale of fresh meat which Francisco do Amaral Gurgel and Francisco de Meneses, a Trinitarian friar, enjoyed.<sup>19</sup> Aptly did the Conde de Assumar, more than twenty years later, describe the true wealth of the mining fields as commerce. "... although some miners have made fortunes by extracting gold, the number of those who have ruined themselves in attempting to do so is infinite. . . ." <sup>20</sup> In the Rio das Mortes district on the eve of the war, the rivalry between *Paulistas* and non-*Paulistas* reached a fever; in the Rio das Velhas area the situation was no better.<sup>21</sup> With fuel in abundance for the fires of discontent, by the year 1708 Minas Gerais was on the verge of grave happenings. Only one hope for peace remained: the energetic intervention of the colonial government.

This, to be sure, would have involved an extreme effort, for Minas Gerais, ten years after the beginning of its gold rush, was still without effective political control. Though the area was theoretically subject to Rio de Janeiro, the inadequate number of crown officials, appointed at the turn of the century in the more important mining fields, was never able to cope with the needs of the population. The appointment of José Vaz Pinto in 1702 as superintendent of the mines, and the promulgation in the same year of an elaborate mining code might have proved the salvation of Minas Gerais; but Pinto's mission was a lamentable failure, and he returned to Rio in 1704.

Aware that the anarchy of Minas Gerais could not be long endured, on June 12 of the following year the queen regent of Portugal ordered the governor of Rio, Dom Fernando Martins Mascarenhas de Lencastre, to visit São Paulo for

<sup>19</sup> See Vasconcelos, *op. cit.*, pp. 218 *et seq.*; and "Memoria historica da capitania de Minas-Geraes," *Revista do Arquivo Público Mineiro*, II, 432.

<sup>20</sup> Report on the capitation tax, 1733, Arquivo de Santa Luzia, Lisbon, Box 408.

<sup>21</sup> Vasconcelos, *op. cit.*, pp. 211-213.

the purpose of restoring order in the gold fields.<sup>22</sup> In a second letter dated two days later, the queen cautioned the governor to employ extreme tact in dealing with the situation. She instructed him to announce publicly that his departure for São Paulo was in nowise motivated by the desire to punish the guilty but rather to insure a better control of the mining areas and supervise the collection of the Fifths.<sup>23</sup> He was authorized to avail himself of the assistance of the leading *Paulistas* and to promise them, in return for their coöperation, four patents of nobility and as many habits of the Order of Christ as he should think necessary.<sup>24</sup>

Dom Fernando replied to the queen's letters on January 15, 1706. He was at that time preparing to carry out her instructions and had already selected the bishop of Rio to assume control of the government of the captaincy during his absence in the south.<sup>25</sup> Nothing came, however, of these efforts. When the governor finally made up his mind to act, the *Guerra dos Emboabas* had already reached a crucial stage. It was then too late to prescribe a quick remedy for the evils of a frontier society.

### III

The immediate cause of the armed strife between *Paulistas* and the other inhabitants of Minas Gerais was a personal misunderstanding between Jerônimo Pedroso de Barros, member of the most prominent *Paulista* family in the mining fields,<sup>26</sup> and Manuel Nunes Viana. The latter's history may be briefly told.

Although the highway from Baía to Minas Gerais had

<sup>22</sup> Queen regent of Portugal to Dom Fernando Martins Mascarenhas de Lencastre, Lisbon, June 12, 1705, A. H. C., Doc. of Rio, No. 3222. The governor took the oath of office in Rio on August 1, 1705 (*Revista do Arquivo Público Mineiro*, I, 4).

<sup>23</sup> See Manoel S. Cardozo, "The Collection of the Fifths in Brazil, 1695-1709," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XX (1940), 359-379.

<sup>24</sup> Queen regent of Portugal to Dom Fernando Martins Mascarenhas de Lencastre, Lisbon, June 14, 1705, A. H. C., Doc. of Rio, No. 3221.

<sup>25</sup> Consulta of the Conselho Ultramarino, June 22, 1706, A. H. C., Codex 232, Livro Primeiro das Consultas do Rio, fol. 229 verso.

<sup>26</sup> Dom Fernando Martins Mascarenhas de Lencastre to the king, Rio, February 14, 1709, A. H. C., Doc. of Rio, No. 3147.

been officially closed since 1701 to the passage of people and goods, excepting only herds of cattle for the sustenance of the settlers in the mining fields, the prohibition did not deter the residents of Baía either from entering Minas Gerais or from engaging in contraband trade. Among those interested in the forbidden business was Manuel Nunes Viana, a native of Viana do Castelo, Portugal, owner of extensive properties on the Rio São Francisco in the Baía hinterland and head of a large concern which supplied Minas Gerais with many of its necessities.<sup>27</sup> Because of his great wealth, his numerous crimes, and his intrepid character, as a contemporary wrote, Viana soon became the recognized leader of the contraband traders, and in the endless quarrels with the *Paulistas* also came to be looked upon to defend the interests of the non-*Paulistas* in general.<sup>28</sup>

Under normal circumstances the differences between the two men might have been easily ironed out, but the moment was hardly one for conciliation. Viana subsequently reported that the misunderstanding had grown out of his refusal to countenance a dishonest act on the part of his opponent when both were in Caeté at the beginning of October, 1708.<sup>29</sup> The incident led to high words, whereupon Viana challenged the *Paulista* to a duel. The challenge was accepted, but Barros, alleging "safer rather than honorable pretexts," avoided the encounter.<sup>30</sup>

The discomfiture suffered by Jerônimo Pedroso de Barros was interpreted by his partisans as an affront to the *Paulistas*. With Jerônimo's brother Valentim as leader—Valentim, so it was said, had vowed to "kill the sons of Portugal"<sup>31</sup>—a large

<sup>27</sup> See Consulta of the Conselho Ultramarino, August 12, 1709, A. H. C., Doc. of Rio, No. 3212; Dom Fernando Martins Mascarenhas to the king, Rio, February 14, 1709; *doc. cit.*; and Vasconcelos, *op. cit.*, pp. 215-216.

<sup>28</sup> See Luiz de Almeida Correia de Albuquerque, chancellor of the Rio Exchequer, to Diogo de Mendonça Côrte-Real, Rio, February 6, 1709, A. H. C., Doc. of Rio, No. 3213.

<sup>29</sup> Manuel Nunes Viana to Manuel de Borba Gato, Caeté, October 13, 1708, A. H. C., Doc. of Rio, No. 3218.

<sup>30</sup> Sebastião da Rocha Pita, *História da América portuguesa desde o anno de mil e quinhentos do seu descobrimento até o de mil e setecentos e vinte e quatro* (2nd ed., Lisboa, 1880), Book IX, Paragraph 22.

<sup>31</sup> "Capitullo de huá carta que veyo do Rio de Jan.ro pallas Ilhas remetida a



party of relatives and friends, provided with more than six hundred blunderbusses,<sup>32</sup> was organized. Word was passed about "that on a given Monday they should all meet in Caeté" for revenge.<sup>33</sup>

The chief crown official in those parts at the time was Manuel de Borba Gato, an uncle of the two Barros. On October 12, 1708, acting apparently to favor his nephews, he posted a public notice on the church doors of Caeté banishing Viana from the district of the Rio das Velhas within twenty-four hours under the penalty of arrest and confiscation of his property.<sup>34</sup> On the following day Viana wrote a formal letter of disavowal to Borba Gato, who was at his house in the Arraial do Rio das Velhas and not in Caeté. In his letter he categorically denied the accusations made and questioned Gato's authority to banish him. Protesting his own and his confederates' loyalty to the king, Viana accused Gato of favoring the *Paulistas* to the detriment of the other settlers of Minas Gerais, and of siding with Jerônimo Pedroso.<sup>35</sup>

The refusal of Manuel Nunes Viana to leave Caeté greatly increased the danger of a serious upheaval, but Borba Gato remained undaunted. Taking the matter into his own hands, he posted a second public notice in which he prohibited the residents of the area from aiding or abetting the outlawed Viana on pain of arrest and confiscation of their property.<sup>36</sup> The measure was obviously designed to intimidate all *Emboabas*; yet it only aroused their resentment.

The imminence of grave disorders and the possible realization of the numerical inferiority of his countrymen convinced Borba Gato of the opportuneness of a personal intervention.<sup>37</sup> He therefore decided to leave his home in the Arraial do Rio das Mortes for Caeté. Disagreeable incidents had already

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esta corte de peça de bom Porte," February 10, 1709, A. H. C., Doc. of Rio, No. 3216.

<sup>32</sup> Bento do Amaral Coutinho to the governor of Rio, Ouro Prêto, January 16, 1709, A. H. C., Doc. of Rio, No. 3149.

<sup>33</sup> Manuel de Borba Gato to the governor of Rio, Arraial do Rio das Velhas, November 29, 1708, A. H. C., Doc. of Rio, No. 3214.

<sup>34</sup> A. H. C., Doc. of Rio, No. 3223.

<sup>35</sup> A. H. C., Doc. of Rio, No. 3218.

<sup>36</sup> Undated MS, A. H. C., Doc. of Rio, No. 3225.

<sup>37</sup> See Rocha Pita, *op. cit.*, Book IX, Paragraph 23.

taken place when he arrived. Two slaves belonging to Viana had been killed and other crimes committed. The situation was hardly the most propitious for conciliation. Nevertheless, Borba Gato, overcoming the difficulties which had earlier seemed insurmountable, brought Viana and Pedroso together.<sup>38</sup>

The truce was of short duration. No sooner had Borba Gato, at the end of November, 1708, returned to his house in the Arraial do Rio das Mortes than armed conflict broke out between the opposing factions. According to the testimony of one of Viana's confederates, Borba Gato's second public notice prohibiting the residents of the area from assisting the *Emboabas* was so excessively interpreted that the homes of many innocent people were wantonly sacked and property valued in excess of five arrobas of gold was destroyed.<sup>39</sup> Borba Gato, on the other hand, in his letter to the governor of Rio on November 29, 1708, wrote that shortly after his departure from Caeté the partisans of Viana forcibly obliged the neutral settlers to oppose the *Paulistas* by ordering many of them on pain of death to accompany the aggressors to Viana's camp.<sup>40</sup> Be that as it may, it was rather the killing of a Portuguese in broad daylight in the streets of Caeté by the natural sons of José Pardo, a *Paulista*, that brought matters to a head.<sup>41</sup> Incensed by this act, the *Emboabas* of the region, some two thousand strong, including reinforcements from Sabará, rose in revolt, repulsed their opponents, and killed Pardo.<sup>42</sup>

During the disorders the apparently unfounded rumor was spread that the *Paulistas* were secretly disposing of their properties in order to be free to kill the ringleaders of the opposing faction and to make a hasty retreat.<sup>43</sup> The disaffected elements in turn prepared to forestall these plans for revenge by executing a certain number of *Paulistas* and by driving all the others out of the Rio das Velhas country.

<sup>38</sup> Manuel de Borba Gato to the governor of Rio, November 29, 1708, *doc. cit.*

<sup>39</sup> Bento do Amaral Coutinho to the governor of Rio, January 16, 1709, *doc. cit.*

<sup>40</sup> *Doc. cit.*

<sup>41</sup> Vasconcelos, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

<sup>42</sup> Bento do Amaral Coutinho to the governor of Rio, January 16, 1709, *doc. cit.*

<sup>43</sup> Manuel de Borba Gato to the governor of Rio, November 29, 1708, *doc. cit.*

Fortunately, better counsel was later taken. It was then decided that no *Paulista* or his slave would thenceforth be allowed on pain of death in an *Emboaba* camp at night, and that such a man could not be accompanied by more than two pages in the daytime. Other measures designed to restrict the liberty of the natives of São Paulo were also taken.<sup>44</sup>

While the *Paulistas*, thus seriously rebuffed, were forced to evacuate the Rio das Velhas area, the *Emboabas* from Sabará, Arraial do Rio das Velhas, and Caeté, under the command of Manuel da Silva Rios, a Portuguese, Agostinho Monteiro, a Pernambucan, and Luiz do Couto, a native of Baía, aided and abetted by a number of apostate or renegade religious, including the Trinitarian, Frei Francisco de Menezes,<sup>45</sup> met at the Caeté home of Manuel Nunes Viana during the early part of December, 1708, organized themselves into a militia corps, and chose Viana as their general.<sup>46</sup> The *Paulistas*, in the meantime, retreating to the Ouro Prêto district, prepared a counter-attack. Disquieting news was periodically received by their victorious opponents. At Pascual da Silva the rumor was spread that Jerônimo Pedroso de Barros had considered the settlement "very appropriate . . . for a skirmish or a march. . . ."<sup>47</sup> At Itatiaia the *Paulistas* had assertedly vowed to kill all "foreigners." Their preparations for revenge assumed alarming proportions. Four hundred men were reported at Itatiaia; another large detachment was reported in the Rio das Pedras area.<sup>48</sup>

These military preparations aroused the *Emboabas* of Ouro Prêto, Antônio Dias, and Cachoeira do Campo, especially after it was rumored that the *Paulistas* were planning to seek revenge for their defeat in the Rio das Velhas area by destroying the three settlements, which were then without organized militia. Many of the inhabitants went about their business with considerable apprehension; others, as a means of insuring their safety, voluntarily cast in their lot with the

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> Vasconcelos, *op. cit.*, pp. 218 *et seq.* For information on the conflict in Sabará see *ibid.*, pp. 226-228.

<sup>46</sup> Bento do Amaral Coutinho to the governor of Rio, January 16, 1709, *doc. cit.*

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*



*Paulistas*. When, however, through the looting of certain letters, the truth of the latters' intentions was finally made known, the *Emboabas* of Ouro Prêto also decided to act promptly. On December 20, 1708, they rose in revolt against the natives of São Paulo. They then proceeded to elect Domingos da Silva Monteiro, a disaffected *Paulista*, as their military commander for the counter-attack which everyone supposed was imminent. Within a few hours fighting against the common enemy broke out in Antônio Dias and Cachoeira do Campo.<sup>49</sup> The precipitous turn of events had taken the harassed *Paulistas* of Ouro Prêto completely by surprise. At two o'clock on the following morning, depressed by their defeat, they retaliated by setting fire to Ouro Prêto. Nine tradesmen's camps were burned, and a great quantity of property, including sixteen arrobas of powder, was destroyed.<sup>50</sup>

Shortly thereafter Manuel Nunes Viana arrived in Cachoeira do Campo from the Rio das Velhas at the head of a numerous company. The spread of hostilities had by this time made apparent the need not only for coördinated military action but also for some sort of governmental control. A meeting of the most "respectable and experienced" residents was thereupon called. Viana was proclaimed governor-general of the entire mining area to rule until such time as the home government might send regularly constituted officials. He was given special powers over the Rio das Velhas territory, where he lived.<sup>51</sup> For his secretary the new governor chose the Carmelite Simão de Santa Teresa, a native of Baía, and for his aide and military commander, with the rank of colonel of foot, Antônio Francisco da Silva, a Portuguese adventurer who had seen service in Nova Colônia do Sacramento.<sup>52</sup> Bento do Amaral Coutinho, a native of Rio de Janeiro, was elected major-general of Ouro Prêto and environs in substitution of Domingos da Silva Monteiro, whose loyalty to the *Emboabas* was challenged.<sup>53</sup> Mateus de

<sup>49</sup> The uprising in Cachoeira do Campo is described in Vasconcelos, *op. cit.*, pp. 228-232.

<sup>50</sup> Bento do Amaral Coutinho to the governor of Rio, January 16, 1709, *doc. cit.*

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> Vasconcelos, *op. cit.*, pp. 223-224.

<sup>53</sup> Bento do Amaral Coutinho to the governor of Rio, January 16, 1709, *doc. cit.*

Moura was named superintendent of the mines and given the specific duty of collecting the crown tax on gold.<sup>54</sup> Captains were appointed, bodies of infantrymen were organized with their respective colonels of militia and of foot. A regiment was created in Ouro Prêto, Antônio Dias, Pedro Faria, and Ribeirão do Carmo, and another in Cachoeira do Campo. A close union of the Ouro Prêto and Rio das Velhas districts was agreed upon for mutual protection. The necessity of "bringing the Rio das Mortes area into union" with themselves was likewise conceded, "not only because the 'outsiders' there have been forcibly deprived of arms and liberty, according to information received privately, but also because it would serve as an advance post and as a warning to those who might wish to attack the settlers of Minas Gerais (as though they were Frenchmen and at war with the Crown of Portugal) from São Paulo and the towns below, as they are at present threatening to do." As a preventive measure against possible violence, the insurgents further agreed to disarm all *Paulistas* and their slaves.<sup>55</sup> The position of the *Emboabas* being thus assured, a mass was celebrated by Frei Francisco de Meneses at the church in Cachoeira do Campo, first, as an act of thanksgiving for the victories achieved and, second, to consecrate Viana in office.<sup>56</sup> The new governor spent a week in Cachoeira.<sup>57</sup> At the end of December, 1708, he returned to Caeté, leaving in the hands of substitutes the prosecution of the war in the still unpacified areas of Minas Gerais.

The situation of the *Paulistas* in the Ouro Prêto area was daily becoming more critical. A number of them, accepting the assurance that they would not be molested, voluntarily laid down their arms. Others, more intransigent in their stand, were disarmed forcibly, while still others, rather than subject themselves to the *Emboabas*, fled to the Rio das Mortes sector. It was here that their compatriots were

<sup>54</sup> Dom Fernando Martins Mascarenhas de Lencastre to the king, Rio, February 16, 1709, A. H. C., Doc. of Rio, No. 3148.

<sup>55</sup> Bento do Amaral Coutinho to the governor of Rio, January 16, 1709, *doc. cit.*

<sup>56</sup> Vasconcelos, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

<sup>57</sup> Bento do Amaral Coutinho to the governor of Rio, January 16, 1709, *doc. cit.*

preparing a last stand. Under the command of Valentim Pedroso de Barros and his brothers, and Fernando Pais, the *Paulistas* had concentrated their forces in various woods, for the most part along the Rio das Mortes where, unable to take the offensive, they defied their enemies. They had, moreover, closed the road to Rio de Janeiro, refusing to allow the passage of the caravans that supplied the Minas market, and confiscated all arms, powder, and lead they could find.<sup>58</sup>

In Ouro Prêto, meanwhile, plans were made to attack the *Paulistas* in their last stronghold on the Rio das Mortes. By public proclamation, Bento do Amaral Coutinho, in supreme control of the area since the departure of Viana for Caeté, ordered all *Emboabas* attached or subordinated to *Paulistas* to declare their allegiance to him within a stipulated three-day period under penalty of being considered traitors and outlaws.<sup>59</sup> Viana in turn aroused the *Paulistas* by boasting that he and his followers were going to "conquer them," burn their stocks of foodstuffs, prevent the passage of caravans from the settled areas, occupy the woods, and strike at the opportune moment "to obtain revenge for so many complaints. . . ."<sup>60</sup>

Toward the end of January, 1709, one thousand armed men, commanded by Coutinho and supplied with eight small field guns,<sup>61</sup> finally launched the expected attack on the Arraial do Rio das Mortes. No difficulty was encountered. The settlement offered little or no resistance and was quickly taken. Coutinho then hunted down the small guerrilla bands roaming the countryside. He was unable to engage the *Paulistas* in formal combat, but many of them were forced to retreat to São Paulo.<sup>62</sup> Against a body of *Paulistas* still at large in a copse some five leagues from the Rio das Mortes

<sup>58</sup> Domingo Duarte de Carvalho to Manuel Mendes Pereira of Lisbon, Rio, January 23, 1709, A. H. C., Doc. of Rio, No. 3215.

<sup>59</sup> Dom Fernando Martins Mascarenhas de Lencastre to the king, February 16, 1709, *doc. cit.*

<sup>60</sup> Dom Fernando Martins Mascarenhas de Lencastre to the king, February 14, 1709, *doc. cit.*

<sup>61</sup> "Capitullo de huã carta que veyo do Rio de Jan.ro," *doc. cit.*

<sup>62</sup> Even before this time more than one thousand *Paulistas* had already fled to São Paulo. *Ibid.*



settlement, Coutinho sent Captain Tomaz Ribeiro Corço at the head of a numerous escort, yet all attempts to dislodge them proved futile. Furious at the outcome of events, Coutinho marched against them in person. He surrounded the wood where the *Paulistas* were entrenched, but at first met with no greater success. In the meantime the enemy had climbed the trees and, camouflaged by the thickness of the foliage, opened fire, killing a Negro and wounding several soldiers.<sup>63</sup> These tactics of the *Paulistas* made it difficult to attack them. After a siege of a night and a day, however, the beleaguered men begged for peace, offering to give up their arms for the customary honors of war. Coutinho accepted the terms but did not keep them. "... as soon as the *Paulistas* presented themselves to him and gave up their arms (oh ferocious cruelty, unworthy of human breasts!), he said that the *Emboabas* should kill those who had caused so many evils and deaths. . . ."<sup>64</sup> The butchery practiced on the helpless *Paulistas* was pitiless; before long the field was covered with the bodies of the dead. The name "Rio das Mortes" had not, indeed, been a misnomer.

The Rio das Mortes campaign was the decisive blow of the war. Repeatedly repulsed by their opponents, the *Paulistas* sought refuge in São Paulo. The three principal mining fields of Minas Gerais, Rio das Velhas, Ouro Prêto, and Rio das Mortes, were now in the hands of Manuel Nunes Viana, supported by a nondescript following estimated all the way from fifteen to thirty thousand men.<sup>65</sup> "... you people there have your battles," a Rio correspondent wrote to a friend in Lisbon toward the end of January, 1709, "but we are beginning to have ours as well, though not against the French or Spanish. . . ."<sup>66</sup>

<sup>63</sup> "... elles na verdade não sabem senão matar gente detras dos páos. . . ." "Capitollo de huã carta que veyo do Rio de Jan.ro," *doc. cit.*

<sup>64</sup> Rocha Pita, *op. cit.*, Book IX, Paragraph 29.

<sup>65</sup> Manuel de Sousa to Diogo de Mendonça Côrte-Real, Rio, February 16, 1709, A. H. C., Doc. of Rio, No. 3217; and "Capitollo de huã carta que veyo do Rio de Jan.ro," *doc. cit.*

<sup>66</sup> Domingos Duarte de Carvalho to Manuel Mendes Pereira, January 23, 1709, *doc. cit.*

## IV

The colonial authorities of Rio, who exercised political jurisdiction over the mining area, followed the course of events in Minas Gerais with great concern. Not only was the income of the royal exchequer threatened by the almost total suspension of the proceeds from the Fifths, but the commercial interests of the city, already handicapped by the infrequent arrival of trade fleets from Portugal and by the decline of the price of sugar, also began to suffer from the unsettled state of affairs in the interior.<sup>67</sup> Business was practically at a standstill in the gold fields; and the caravans that regularly supplied the Minas Gerais market over the road from Rio were forced to turn back at the Rio das Mortes. Debts were left uncollected, for there was no way to force miners and other settlers to discharge their obligations. The extraction of gold in these troublous times was, moreover, almost completely abandoned; each man thought only of defending himself, his family, and his property.

Rio merchants and others with economic stakes in Minas Gerais were naturally affected; and it is little to be wondered at that a good many people in the coast city should have seen bankruptcy staring them in the face. The plight of the exchequer, as suggested above, was equally serious. The king would feel the unfortunate repercussions of the civil strife in Minas Gerais, an anonymous correspondent wrote to Portugal from Rio on February 10, 1709, "because he will receive neither Fifths nor coin, and, in fact, there are none. To tell you the truth, brother, everyone will suffer the bad consequences, and I especially, for God so willed it that in this crisis I should have my money in Minas Gerais. . . ." Debtors, he added, were unable to pay their accounts "since not even a dram of gold is mined; nor is there any business; and I wish to tell you frankly that, when these difficulties are solved, it will take much more than two years for the mines to get back to normal. In the meantime, may God have pity

<sup>67</sup> Luiz de Almeida Correia de Albuquerque to Diogo de Mendonça Côrte-Real, February 6, 1709, *doc. cit.*

on the many people who have their wherewithal in those parts!''<sup>68</sup>

Faced with a problem of unprecedented proportions, Dom Fernando Martins Mascarenhas de Lencastre, governor of Rio, felt that only his presence in Minas Gerais would quell the disturbance. He planned the trip to the interior with no very open or conciliatory mind. In his letter to the king of February 14, 1709, he described Manuel Nunes Viana as a "bandit" whose seditious activities had created the difficulties. The *Paulistas*, Dom Fernando wrote, should be restored to power, not only because they had discovered the mines, but also because they alone were capable of exploiting them and increasing their production. Without the *Paulistas*, he felt, the mines would soon come to an end, for the other settlers were unable or unwilling to make new discoveries. Since the governor considered the natives of São Paulo "more useful" to the best interests of the exchequer, he was determined to expel from Minas Gerais all settlers who had entered through the Baía hinterland. He would, as a consequence, establish a more rigorous control over the Baía road and suggested that troops from the Baía garrison should be ordered to Fanado, the most strategic point on the long highway from the Brazilian capital to the gold fields.<sup>69</sup>

The receipt of Bento do Amaral Coutinho's letter of January 16, 1709, only served to arouse Dom Fernando's antagonism further.<sup>70</sup> He refused to admit the claims and aspirations of the *Emboabas*. Writing a second time to the king on February 16 of the same year, the governor attacked the legality of the new regime set up by Manuel Nunes Viana and the moral character of its principal leaders.<sup>71</sup> He considered Viana a usurper who had dared to repulse the *Paulistas* and establish laws of his own with the ostensible purpose of restoring liberty. Mateus de Moura, a resident of Rio and Viana's appointee as superintendent of the mines, was the alleged assassin of his own sister. Such people, Dom Fernando said, made up the chief supporters of the rebels.

<sup>68</sup> "Capitullo de huã carta que veyo do Rio de Jan.ro," *doc. cit.*

<sup>69</sup> *Doc. cit.*

<sup>70</sup> *Doc. cit.*

<sup>71</sup> *Doc. cit.*



Even Bento do Amaral Coutinho, a bitter critic of the *Paulistas*, was known to have killed a son of Pedro Gago da Câmara and to have given vent to his cruel fury by inflicting more than sixty wounds on the victim.<sup>72</sup>

Accompanied by four companies of dragoons, with their officers, and by *Desembargador* Antônio Luiz Peleja, who had recently arrived from São Paulo,<sup>73</sup> Dom Fernando Martins Mascarenhas de Lencastre left Rio at the end of February or very beginning of March, 1709.<sup>74</sup> Before his departure he informed the São Paulo *Câmara* and other municipal bodies of that captaincy of his intention to visit the mining fields to "pacify doubts" and confidently invited the *Paulistas* to return once more to Minas Gerais.<sup>75</sup> He fully expected to be able to rely on their support. The governor, however, was actually less hopeful of the success of his mission than he was willing to admit openly, for he wrote to the king on February 16, 1709: "The fact that Manuel Nunes Viana has not informed me of these breaches of authority and of these appointments [*i.e.*, officials appointed by the insurgent governor] leads me to fear that he may refuse me his obedience and that, seeing me en route with considerably less force than his, he may prevent me from advancing. . . ."<sup>76</sup>

The news of the governor's decision was received by the victorious settlers of Minas Gerais with consternation. Many foolishly believed that Dom Fernando was bringing an ample

<sup>72</sup> Coutinho's criminal record was notorious. Both he and his brother, Francisco, Garcia Rodrigues Pais wrote to the king in 1706 (letter of January 8, 1706, A. H. C., Doc. of Rio, No. 3091), had fled from Rio to Minas Gerais, "where they are committing the most serious offenses imaginable, having ordered the castration and murder of many men on the flimsiest of pretexts. . . ." Even Rocha Pita (*op. cit.*, Book IX, Paragraph 27), who is as partial to Viana and his cohorts as the governor of Rio is to the *Paulistas*, could not overlook this phase of Coutinho's life.

<sup>73</sup> See Dom Fernando Martins Mascarenhas de Lencastre to the king, February 14, 1709, *doc. cit.*; Afonso d'Eseragnolle Taunay, *op. cit.*, p. 126; and Vasconcelos, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

<sup>74</sup> See Vasconcelos, *op. cit.*, p. 241. On February 10, 1709, an anonymous correspondent wrote: ". . . o G.º está de partida p.a as Minas. . . ." "Capitollo de huã carta que veyo do Rio de Jan.ro," *doc. cit.*

<sup>75</sup> Dom Fernando Martins Mascarenhas de Lencastre to the king, February 14, 1709, *doc. cit.*

<sup>76</sup> *Doc. cit.*

supply of chains and other iron instruments to punish them.<sup>77</sup> Fearing his reprisals, the insurgents agreed to refuse him their obedience and prevent him from entering the mining fields.<sup>78</sup>

Upon hearing of the arrival of Dom Fernando in Minas Gerais, Viana, at the head of a numerous following, left Ouro Prêto for Congonhas do Campo, a few leagues away, where the governor then was. When they reached the latter's camp, the insurgents defiantly shouted: "Long live our general Manuel Nunes Viana! Death to Dom Fernando if he should not wish to return to Rio!"<sup>79</sup> A meeting between the two men was nevertheless arranged and the rebel governor conferred with his superior for a little more than an hour. Viana seems to have assured Dom Fernando that the "disturbance was against his wishes and that the people had brought him . . . very much by force; that the reason why they resisted was the widespread fear that he [the governor of Rio] was going to punish them; but that if he [Dom Fernando] wished to continue his journey, he [Viana] personally would not prevent him."<sup>80</sup> In view of such non-committal assurances, the governor thought it wise to retrace his steps rather than risk the doubtful outcome of an adventure which had already filled him with fear. He left the mines as he had found them, in the hands of the rebels.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>77</sup> "Descrição . . . da capitania das Minas Gerais . . . (1781)," *loc. cit.*, p. 130; Diogo de Vasconcelos, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

<sup>78</sup> Rocha Pita, *op. cit.*, Book IX, Paragraph 34. See also Vasconcelos, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

<sup>79</sup> "Descrição . . . da capitania das Minas Geraes . . . (1781)," *loc. cit.*, p. 131; and José de Sousa Azevedo Pizarro e Araújo, *Memorias historicas do Rio de Janeiro e das provincias annexas á jurisdição do Brasil* (9 vols., Rio de Janeiro, 1820-1822), VIII, Parte 2, 18.

<sup>80</sup> Rocha Pita, *op. cit.*, Book IX, Paragraph 34. In a letter to the king of January 8, 1719 (*Revista do Arquivo Público Mineiro*, III, 252), the Conde de Assumar wrote that Viana "impedio a entrada nestas Minas ao Gov.or D. Fern.do Miz. Mascarenhas. . . ." Vasconcelos (*op. cit.*, pp. 244-245) believes that Pascual da Silva Guimarães and not Viana talked with the governor.

<sup>81</sup> Shortly thereafter, Frei Francisco de Meneses was sent by the rebels to Lisbon, apparently for the purpose, as Vasconcelos (*op. cit.*, p. 246) suggests, of securing a general pardon for those involved in the uprising. According to Rocha Pita (*op. cit.*, Book IX, Paragraph 36), Viana continued in charge of the insurgent government with such prudence and success that his acts "mereciam não só perdões, mas premios. . . ."

The first reports of the difficulties in Minas Gerais had, in the meantime, reached Lisbon, where they provoked justifiable alarm.<sup>82</sup> On August 12, 1709, the *Conselho Ultramarino* unanimously agreed that the situation, as described in Dom Fernando's letters of February 14 and 16 of the same year, merited "a very prompt and efficacious remedy. . . ." As one councilman expressed it, any delay in applying the prescribed "remedy" might provoke an even greater conflagration in Minas Gerais which might conceivably spread to the other southern captaincies, thereby jeopardizing the "inestimable treasure" of the mines and endangering Brazil as a whole. Yet the *Conselho* was unwilling to believe, as Dom Fernando believed, that the entire responsibility for the civil war in Minas Gerais lay with Manuel Nunes Viana and his partisans.<sup>83</sup>

Since Antônio de Albuquerque Coelho de Carvalho, Dom Fernando's successor in office, had already arrived in Rio from Portugal when the *Conselho Ultramarino* was called upon to solve the difficulties in Brazil,<sup>84</sup> the crown was advised to order the new governor to Minas Gerais and to authorize him to proclaim a general amnesty. Only the two ringleaders, Manuel Nunes Viana and Bento do Amaral Coutinho, were to be excluded from sharing in it, for their past activities were deemed to justify the full penalties of the law.<sup>85</sup> The *Conselho* felt that Carvalho should be permitted to resort to

<sup>82</sup> Upon the receipt of private information from Brazil, the *Conselho Ultramarino* first met to discuss the uprising in Minas Gerais on August 3, 1709 (A. H. C., Codex 232, Livro Primeiro das Consultas do Rio, fol. 265). On August 7 the governor's letters of February 14 and 16 (see pp. 485-486 above) were received in Lisbon. The *Conselho* considered them at its August 12 meeting (A. H. C., Doc. of Rio, No. 3212, and Codex 232, *cit.*, fol. 266 verso). Unless otherwise indicated, the following account of the Home Government's reaction to the uprising is taken from the above records of the *Conselho Ultramarino*.

<sup>83</sup> In his letters to the king, the governor had blamed the Emboabas for the disorders. The *Conselho*, however, had received other information which counterbalanced the official reports from Rio. Dom Fernando was roundly criticized in Lisbon.

<sup>84</sup> His commission of office was signed on March 7, 1709 (A. H. C., Codex 125, fol. 27). He was sworn in office in Rio on June 11 (Pizarro e Araújo, *op. cit.*, VIII, Parte 2, 20).

<sup>85</sup> The two men were finally pardoned on November 27, 1709. Vasconcelos, *op. cit.*, pp. 251-252.



force if necessary. He should be authorized to take as many soldiers from the Rio garrison as he should see fit. Additional soldiers, over and above those who could be taken from Rio without weakening unduly its military defenses, should be supplied by the governor-general of Baía.

On August 19, 1709, the recommendations of the *Conselho* were approved by the crown; three days later a royal letter embodying the proposals was despatched to Carvalho.<sup>86</sup> These plans, however, proved to be unnecessary, for the governor had earlier resolved on independent action.<sup>87</sup> Leaving Gregório de Castro de Moraes in charge of Rio, Antônio de Albuquerque Coelho de Carvalho, escorted by two captains, two aides, and ten soldiers,<sup>88</sup> set out for Minas Gerais in July, 1709.<sup>89</sup>

The situation in the mining fields, meanwhile, had become increasingly favorable for conciliation. Uneasy over their position, fearful of the reprisals of the mother-country, the *Emboabas* were now anxious to sue for peace.<sup>90</sup> They impatiently awaited the day when they might safely return to their homes and occupations, for the principal objective of the uprising, with the overthrow of the *Paulistas*, had already been achieved. Accordingly, when word was received of the governor's arrival in Rio, they despatched Frei Miguel Ribeira, formerly Carvalho's secretary during the latter's term of office as governor of Maranhão,<sup>91</sup> to invite the new executive to Minas Gerais and assure him of their obedience "to all the precepts of the King and orders of his governors."<sup>92</sup>

The arrival of the friar in Rio on the eve of the governor's departure for the interior<sup>93</sup> greatly raised the latter's spirits.

<sup>86</sup> The letter is published in Taunay, *op. cit.*, pp. 140 *et seq.* It was received by the governor on November 22 of the same year. See letter of the governor to the king, April 3, 1710, published in *ibid.*, pp. 147 *et seq.*

<sup>87</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 147 *et seq.*

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127; Rocha Pita, *op. cit.*, Book IX, Paragraph 39.

<sup>89</sup> Consulta of the Conselho Ultramarino, March 10, 1710, A. H. C., Codex 232, *cit.*, fol. 275 verso.

<sup>90</sup> For the rivalry between Sebastião Pereira de Aguilar and Manuel Nunes Viana see Vasconcelos, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-241; "Descrição . . . da capitania das Minas Geraes . . . (1781)," *loc. cit.*, pp. 131-132.

<sup>91</sup> 1687-1691.

<sup>92</sup> Rocha Pita, *op. cit.*, Book IX, Paragraph 39.

<sup>93</sup> Vasconcelos, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

The unexpected development augured well for his plans; and he made haste to confer with the rebel leaders. The success of his mission was probably more complete than he had hoped. At Caeté, the scene of the first serious uprising of the war, received by the inhabitants "with the greatest demonstrations of love and obedience," Carvalho met Viana for the first time.<sup>94</sup> They never saw each other again. As dramatically as he had risen to power, the *Emboaba* governor, whose praises more than one chronicler and historian have since sung,<sup>95</sup> voluntarily retired to his properties in the Baía hinterland.<sup>96</sup> The way was thus left clear for the pacification of the mining fields.

From Caeté, Carvalho visited the other settlements of Minas Gerais, in each of which he was received with equal cordiality. He approved the several posts created by Viana and, in the majority of cases, confirmed the appointment of those who were serving the same offices. He also created a number of new posts for the administration of the area. Then, after a measure of order had been restored, he left for

<sup>94</sup> Rocha Pita, *op. cit.*, Book IX, Paragraph 39; Vasconcelos, *op. cit.*, pp. 248-249.

<sup>95</sup> Cláudio Manuel da Costa, *Villa Rica poema* (Ouro Preto, 1897), p. XXII; Nuno Marques Pereira, *Compendio narrativo do peregrino da America* (Lisboa, 1731), preliminary leaves BIV verso to BV; José João Teixeira Coelho, "Instrução para o governo da capitania de Minas Geraes," *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, XV, 322; Rocha Pita, *op. cit.*, Book IX, Paragraph 36; Vasconcelos, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-226.

<sup>96</sup> Viana asked the governor's permission "para retirarsse ao Rio de Sam Francisco onde tinha a sua Caza, para onde Com effeito se recolheo como occulto, por não querer o Povo consentir, que elle Largasse as Minas pellas boas disposições que nelle experimentaraõ, assim no governo dellas, como no das Armas. . . ." (Carta de Padrão issued in favor of Manuel Nunes Viana by the king of Portugal, Lisbon, January 24, 1728, Arquivo Público Mineiro [Belo Horizonte], Papéis Avulsos, and published in the *Revista do Arquivo Público Mineiro*, II, 393-396). Virtually the same information is found in Rocha Pita, *op. cit.*, Book IX, Paragraph 40; and Vasconcelos, *op. cit.*, p. 249. Viana's subsequent career was not entirely blameless. A few years later he was captured by Pedro Leolino Mariz and sent to the viceroy at Baía, who probably freed him (see J. Lúcio de Azevedo, *Épocas de Portugal Económico*, Lisboa, 1929, p. 331). In 1722 Viana was reported as "continuando com as suas crueldades e tiranias. . . ." In that year the Conselho Ultramarino believed that he should be condemned to death (consulta of March 31, 1723, A. H. C., Codex 253, Livro Segundo das Consultas da Baía, fol. 276 *et seq.*). In 1727, however, he was showered with honors by the crown of Portugal (see Carta de Padrão, *doc. cit.*).

São Paulo in the attempt to dissuade the *Paulistas* from a proposed invasion of Minas Gerais.<sup>97</sup>

The atmosphere in São Paulo, as the governor undoubtedly knew, was far from ideal. Still smarting from the defeat suffered at the hands of the *Emboabas*, the *Paulistas* had resolved to avenge their discomfiture, possibly incited, as Rocha Pita suggests, by their womenfolk.<sup>98</sup> The disgruntled *Paulistas* thereupon collected an expeditionary force of twelve hundred men and, under the command of Amador Bueno da Veiga, left for the mining fields.<sup>99</sup>

It was this makeshift body that Antônio de Albuquerque Coelho de Carvalho, on his way to São Paulo, met at Guaratininguetá, in October, 1709. The governor attempted at once to dissuade the invaders from the undertaking, but without avail. Giving up his plans, therefore, to visit São Paulo, Carvalho hastily left for Paratí, and thence for Rio, from where he warned the settlers of Minas Gerais of the impending danger.<sup>100</sup> The warning was timely. A large body of *Emboabas*, quickly mustered for defense, fortified themselves at Ponta do Môro, in the Rio das Mortes area, and obliged the *Paulistas* to halt. The latter now entrenched themselves on a hill overlooking the settlement. For more than a week thereafter shots were exchanged by the contending factions but without advantage to either side. When, however, the news was received that numerous persons from other districts of Minas Gerais were marching on the Rio das Mortes to join the defenders, the *Paulistas* resolved to abandon the struggle and retreat to São Paulo. Early one morning, as unheralded as at their arrival, they gave up their positions, shrouding their movements in such complete silence that they departed unsuspected by their opponents.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>97</sup> See Câmara of Vila do Carmo to the king, July 28, 1711, A. H. C., unclassified papers of Minas Gerais.

<sup>98</sup> Rocha Pita, *op. cit.*, Book IX, Paragraph 42.

<sup>99</sup> Vasconcelos, *op. cit.*, p. 259. Veiga was elected commander on April 1, 1709. *Actas da Câmara Municipal de S. Paulo*, VIII, 190-193. Other documents connected with the expedition may be consulted in *ibid.*, pp. 197-201.

<sup>100</sup> See consulta of the Conselho Ultramarino, March 10, 1710, *doc. cit.*; and Ambrósio Caldeira Brantes to Domingos Gonçalves Cândido, Rio das Mortes, November 19, 1709, *Registo Geral da Câmara Municipal de S. Paulo*, IV, 3-4.

<sup>101</sup> Rocha Pita, *op. cit.*, Book IX, Paragraph 46; Vasconcelos, *op. cit.*, pp.



## V

With the failure of the invasion, the war in Minas Gerais finally came to an end. The bitter rivalry between *Paulistas* and *Emboabas* gradually subsided; peace brought the promise of effective political control exercised through regularly appointed officials. Yet the termination of hostilities did not result in a permanent calm. Martinho de Melo e Castro remarked in 1788 that "of all the peoples who comprise the several captaincies of Brazil, none were more difficult to subject and reduce to the obedience and submission which vassals owe to their sovereign than those of Minas Gerais."<sup>102</sup> The Portuguese minister of state, upon whose shoulders rested many of the responsibilities of colonial government, thus registered the long series of disturbances which the captaincy, ever since its beginning, had caused the mother-country; but he might have added by way of explanation that no area in Brazil had gone through a more tumultuous evolution. Some eighty-five years before, at the turn of the century, Antonil was convinced that gold was not an unmixed blessing.<sup>103</sup> In Minas Gerais, unfortunately, the *Guerra dos Emboabas* was not to be the only proof of that assertion.

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258-263. The attack took place a short time after November 19, 1709. See letter of Ambrósio Caldeira Brantes, *doc. cit.*

<sup>102</sup> "Instrução para o Visconde de Barbacena Luiz Antonio Furtado de Mendonça, governador e capitão general da capitania de Minas Geraes," *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, VI, 14.

<sup>103</sup> See note 11, above.

## FEUDAL AND CAPITALISTIC ELEMENTS IN THE PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENT OF BRAZIL

In the decade of the 1530's, Dom João III of Portugal undertook the colonization of Brazil. He gave large grants of lands and powers to certain of his subjects as *donatários*, or proprietary landlords and, in return, required them to defend and settle the land, at their own cost. Such of the grantees as survived the first difficult years of colonization divided some of their lands among the settlers whom they had brought with them and began to grow colonial crops for export to Portugal.

Though few students of Brazilian history question the order of events in the founding of colonies in Brazil, they do differ as to the interpretation to be placed on those events. One group interprets the settlement in feudal terms and gives the name of the Brazilian Middle Ages to the fifteen years between the coming of the *donatários* in 1534 and the institution of a general royal government in 1549. Another group finds almost nothing feudal about the settling of Brazil, rejects any terminology that echoes the mediaeval, and considers that the settlement may be interpreted only as capitalistic. Indeed, the order of events appears to give support to both opinions.

Because the word "feudalism," like "capitalism," may mean all things to all men, it is well to state that the definition used here is the one now most commonly accepted by mediaevalists in the United States.<sup>1</sup> Feudalism, as it flourished principally in France during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, was a political arrangement between members of a military upper class of knights in which military services were given by vassals in return for hereditary grants of powers and of land (the fief). It did not include the dwellers on the manors of the knights nor, later, the townsmen, for,

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Carl Stephenson, *Mediaeval Feudalism* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1942).

while they supplied the economic base for the feudal class, their occupations remained economic and not political.<sup>2</sup> Occasionally feudalism is defined broadly as a class system in which those who held land also held political power, accompanied by many rights over the property of inferiors, and were warriors by profession.

The fullest and more recent exposition of the settlement of Brazil as a feudal matter appeared in 1924, in the monumental collaborative *História da Colonização Portuguesa do Brasil*.<sup>3</sup> The occasion was the centenary of the independence of Portugal from Brazil, once a neglected step-child, but later the foundation and stay of Portugal's overseas empire. The general editor, Carlos Malheiro Dias, not only discussed the question in prefatory remarks but also in a separate chapter entitled "O Regimen feudal das donatárias anteriormente à instituição do govêrno geral (1534-1549)."<sup>4</sup>

His premise was simply that the small resources of Portugal and the preëmption of many of them by the attempt to dominate India made necessary some scheme for settling Brazil that would not cost much in men or money. The system of *donatários* that was applied to Brazil, for all that it was impermanent and failed in defending the land, was the only one compatible with the need for defense and the financial limitations of the crown. To colonize and defend his captaincy,<sup>5</sup> the *donatário* was given great rights and powers in his *carta de doação*.<sup>6</sup> At the same time, carefully stated obligations to the king were laid on him in his *foral* which closely limited his freedom of action. The fact that he was going to set up colonies in a wild and distant new world did not free

<sup>2</sup> Stephenson (*op. cit.*, p. 14) considers feudalism as essentially political and that it should not be thought of as a necessary or even usual stage in economic history. "Though feudal institutions presupposed certain agrarian arrangements, the latter were not in themselves feudal."

<sup>3</sup> Carlos Malheiro Dias, ed., *História da Colonização Portuguesa do Brasil* (3 vols., Pôrto, 1921-1924). This work is hereafter referred to as *HCP*, followed by the volume number.

<sup>4</sup> *HCP*, III, 219-256.

<sup>5</sup> The lands of the *donatários* were known either as captaincies (*capitanias*) or *donatárias*. To avoid confusion with *donatário* (i.e., the person to whom given), they will here be referred to as captaincies.

<sup>6</sup> Summaries of *cartas de doação* and *forais* are given below, pp. 500-501.



him of restraint by the crown, for the captaincy, says Malheiro Dias, was not given him to exploit as a plantation, but to govern as a province.

If in sketching the rights and duties of the *donatário* Malheiro Dias did not state explicitly what he means by "feudal," he soon suggests the color with which he invests the term. The *cartas de doação* and the *forais* were drawn up in Portugal by men who had inherited the experience and traditions of more than a century of governing an empire. The privileges in the instruments were to stimulate the zeal of the *donatário* and to make his dangerous outpost attractive to his pride and to his ambition to command. Brazil, in short, was founded by nobles and gentry who went there to burnish the splendor of their arms and blazons and to restore fortunes dissipated at court. Their settlements were agricultural and without towns, aristocratic in direction and free from the influence of the mercenary interests of townsmen. The class of the *donatários* and their privileges rooted in Brazil a nobility of blood and assured it a species of emancipation that avoided the stigma of colonial servitude. This opinion Malheiro Dias rested on the celebrated introduction by Oliveira Viana to the Brazilian census of 1920. When Oliveira Viana added that "all the long colonial period is one of the splendor of great landholdings," Malheiro Dias agreed that "the first cycle of Brazilian colonization is an undertaking of the nobility, with each captaincy adorned with its heraldic blazon."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> It must be noted that Malheiro Dias does not explore all of Oliveira Viana's ideas. For instance, in his *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (São Paulo, 1923), p. 47, Oliveira Viana says: "Os colonos peninsulares que iniciam o nosso povoamento, aqui aportam dominados por preocupações commerciaes." This statement he then qualifies by saying that the first colonizers were not men of the people, but adventurers, sometimes persons of gentle birth, in search of fortune. The more plebeian colonists came later, after the discovery of mines and after a certain economic development had already taken place. At the same time, he characterizes the settlers of gentle birth thus (p. 52): "Esses fidalgos vêm de uma sociedade ainda modelada pela organização feudal: só o serviço das arma é nobre, só elle honra e classifica. Falta-lhes aquelle sentimento da dignidade do labor agrícola, tão profundo entre os romanos do tempo de Cincinnatus. . . ." From this aristocratic attitude, Oliveira Viana derives the imposition of large landholdings, for men of such temper were incapable of ruling small farms.

Malheiro Dias takes into account the possibility that not all the early settlers were of gentle blood, but he adds (*loc. cit.*, III, 222): "Admitindo-se porém,

From this much of Malheiro Dias's work, it may be gathered that his concept of feudalism is much broader and also much vaguer than the one defined at the beginning of this paper. It meant the giving of lands by the king in return for their defense by the *donatário*; an agricultural society, dominated by men of noble and gentle blood and with warrior spirit.

The critics of the feudal interpretation do not hear the din of chivalric war in the settlement of Brazil. Professor Simonsen, from whose recent *História econômica*<sup>8</sup> much of recent interpretation seems to flow, does not find reasonable the emphasis that national historians have placed on the feudal aspect of the system of *donatários*. Indeed, he attacks the school represented by Malheiro Dias as much for a misunderstanding of European mediaeval history as for a misunderstanding of Brazilian colonial history.

He commences with the poverty of Portugal and with the need for an economical method of colonizing Brazil. But from this point on he diverges from Malheiro Dias. The basis of mediaeval society, he says, referring to Schmoller, was fixed social classes. The serf was not able to change his social and economic class and become an artisan, and the artisan could not become a gentleman. Such a society of fixed classes no longer existed in Portugal at the time of the settling of Brazil. Everyone was going to the New World to make money, to better himself, and to rise in the social scale. Further, the king himself was no longer simply a feudal overlord. With his navigation policies, his commercial monopolies, his manipulation of the royal currency, and his manoeuvres with the Venetian spice trade, he was "um autêntico capitalista." His vassals (to whom Professor Simonsen refers in quotation

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como parece razoável, que a nobreza colonizadora, conquanto influente, fôsse muito menos numerosa do que a plebe, e sem negar que gente de tôda a espécie vinha da metrópole, e até que entre ela não faltavam os condenados a degrêdo, certo é que os donatários em seu próprio interesse, deviam ter escolhido os colonos que iam ser seus auxiliares e vassalos. . . . Os próprios aventureiros . . . não se precipitaram em tropel para o Brasil."

<sup>8</sup> Roberto C. Simonsen, *História econômica do Brasil, 1500-1820* (2 vols., São Paulo, 1937). Cf. especially the section entitled "Capitalismo ou regímen feudal?," I, 124-127.

marks) were not behindhand, and were no more than exploiters on a grand scale. The privileges given them were not concessions to their pride and ambition to command (as Malheiro Dias said), but rather, assurances of profit-making to induce them to accept grants in Brazil. Likewise, the magnitude of the powers given the *donatários* did not indicate feudalism, for powers of equal extent are given even today to admirals of fleets, to generals of armies, and to governors in times of emergency. That the powers and titles were hereditary meant only that they were concessions for an unlimited period. What Professor Simonsen does find in the granting of powers and titles that is feudal is some of the formal terms used in the documents themselves, but this he discounts, for some of this language remains in use today.

While making use of the contradictions in Malheiro Dias's work in challenging the feudal interpretation, Professor Simonsen does not go far into the question of what interpretation should be put on the settlement of Brazil. Because his book covers the economic history of the entire colonial period, the few years of the *donatários* must be despatched quickly. He finds, consequently, that capitalism was indicated by the love of gain, with the king as the leading capitalist in Portugal and the *donatários* as his imitators in Brazil. When the king gave the settlers concessions, such as exemptions on their exports, he used characteristically capitalistic processes that have their counterparts today. Professor Simonsen does not say what these processes were, and, offering no instances or examples, he leaves their recognition to the general acquaintance of the reader with economic history.

Even the recent large-scale history of colonial Brazil at present taking shape in the hands of Dr. J. F. de Almeida Prado<sup>9</sup> does not carry the discussion beyond this inconclusive stage. Dr. Almeida Prado accepts Professor Simonsen's opinion that the grants made by the king were not feudal, that only in the *forais* did any element remain that might be called feudal, and that the grants should be placed against the

<sup>9</sup> J. F. de Almeida Prado, *História da formação da sociedade brasileira* (4 vols. to date, São Paulo, 1939—).



patterns of capitalism that were in full development in the Renaissance.<sup>10</sup> Later he characterizes simply as capitalists some of the noble and powerful men who were considering building sugar mills in Pernambuco.<sup>11</sup> But, unhappily, he does not consider that the demands of his volumes permit him to dwell on the subject and, consequently, he does not specify the patterns of capitalism that were followed.<sup>12</sup>

The most thorough continuation of the criticism begun by Professor Simonsen has been, curiously enough, not along economic but along political lines. In less than a dozen pages of antitheses, Dr. Raúl de Andrada de Silva takes a body of prevailing notions accepted by historians about the donatarial period and casts them against the model of French feudalism of the twelfth century.<sup>13</sup> Beginning with the poverty of Portugal and the need of a cheap means of controlling Brazil, he considers the giving of Brazil to *donatários* in return for their defending it a juridical act analogous in some respects to the giving of a fief by a suzerain in return for its defense by a vassal. Further, the giving of lands in *sesmarias* (measured pieces subject to certain stipulations)<sup>14</sup> by the *donatários* to the settlers and their giving lesser portions in turn to other settlers suggests an analogy with the subinfeudation of feudal France. Likewise reminiscent of France is the giving of such lands for life and, above all, in return for personal services, especially in time of war.

Dr. Andrada de Silva's closer examination of the captaincies does not satisfy him that the chain of analogies continues. In Portugal itself at the time of the settlement of Brazil the king had overcome the desires of his vassals for equality and

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 31-32.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 242.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 31.

<sup>13</sup> Raúl de Andrada de Silva, "O regime feudal e as capitânias hereditárias (Breve estudo comparativo)," *Anais do III congresso sulriograndense de história e geografia* (4 vols., Pôrto Alegre, 1940), IV, 2597-2604. His source for the French material is J. Calmette, *La société féodale* (Paris, 1932).

<sup>14</sup> For a description of *sesmarias* as they existed in the early sixteenth century, see the *Ordenações do senhor rey D. Manuel* (6 vols., Coímbra, 1797-1820), IV, 164-174, Book IV, title lxvii, *Das sesmarias*. The whole subject of *sesmarias* is involved and requires further study. Some idea of the complexity of the problem in Portugal alone may be gained from Fortunato de Almeida, *História de Portugal* (5 vols., Pôrto, 1922), III, 465-472.

for decentralized government and had become king over all, not *primus inter pares*.<sup>15</sup> In Brazil, in the captaincies, the powers of the *donatários* were likewise limited. Into each captaincy the king sent royal officials to collect royal taxes and administer the royal justice side by side with the taxes and justice of the *donatário*. Even in dispensing his own justice, no *donatário* could follow his own desires, for he was bound as a subject of the king to judge according to the *Ordenações manuelinas*, the code of Dom Manuel, and not according to local *costumeiros*.<sup>16</sup>

While Dr. Andrada de Silva does not give the term "feudal" all the vague meaning with which Malheiro Dias had invested it, he does include the economic in his discussion. He does not find the captaincies feudal in this use of the term, for, while self-supporting, they were intended for trading and were not the self-sufficient household economy of the mediaeval manor. Like Malheiro Dias, he considers feudalism also as a sort of class division, but in this respect he finds only the most attenuated analogies between the social classes of the middle ages and the division of the captaincies into nobles, Christian peons, and Indians. The captaincies had no bourgeoisie in the sense in which such a body existed in France,

<sup>15</sup> Decentralization of government into the hands of powerful vassals in Portugal had always been resisted by habits of centralization inherited from the Visigoths. It had also been impeded by the municipal tradition inherited from Rome. Andrada de Silva, *loc. cit.*, IV, 2600. Feudalism in Portugal may be found summarized in Henrique de Gama Barros, *História da administração pública em Portugal nos séculos XII a XV* (3 vols., Lisboa, 1885-1914), I, 89-206, *passim*. Gama Barros does not consider that Portugal had feudalism on the French plan because of the extensive rights of the vassal to alienate land given him by the suzerain. The result was a "systema politico especial, que não era o feudalismo porque lhe faltavam os caracteres essenciaes, mas que tambem proporcionava á aristocracia elementos vigorosos de resistencia ao desenvolvimento do poder do rei, nos amplissimos privilegios de que a nobreza estava revestida." *Ibid.*, I, 206.

<sup>16</sup> In relation to the subjection of the *donatários* to the centralized administration of the king, Malheiro Dias considered (*loc. cit.*, III, 255) that the replacement of the system of *donatários* by the centralized royal government was unhappy, but to be expected at a time when the king of Portugal was increasingly centralizing power in his own hands. The implication that the donatarial period was an exception to the centralizing process should be contrasted with the opinion above and with Gama Barros, *op. cit.*, I, 89-206, *passim*. *Costumeiros* were corpora of local custom, similar to the *coutumiers* of France.

its church was not a part of a feudal system, and in it slavery took the place of serfdom.

In conclusion, Dr. Andrada de Silva finds analogies principally in the juridical aspect and in the hereditary character of the grants. Even the giving of grants for life does not seem to him proof of feudalism, for he recalls Professor Simonsen's opinion that they were only concessions for an unlimited period.

Before examining the *cartas de doação* and the *forais* themselves in order to obtain an independent basis of judgment, it is well to have in mind the various meanings that have been given the term "feudalism." An economic meaning, aside from its general inaccuracy, is entirely inapplicable, for it implies comparison of the self-sufficient household economy of mediaeval France with the plantation and trading economy of Brazil. Two other meanings are more acceptable. The one preferred here is that of a purely political arrangement between the members of a military upper class. The other is that of a class system in which the landholders hold political power. The test of the political meaning is the performance of military service by the landholder in return for his land. The test of the other is harder because the meaning is broader and vaguer, but may be found in the rights, motives, and activities of the upper class, in this case the Brazilian landholders.

The *carta de doação*<sup>17</sup> given to Duarte Coelho, *donatário* of Pernambuco, which is typical, first described the boundaries of the lands and declared the grant to be hereditary. It gave the *donatário* jurisdiction in all civil cases involving less than one hundred thousand *reais* and gave him the exercise of the death penalty in criminal cases involving slaves, heathen, Christian peons, and free men. Persons higher in the social scale were privileged, but he had the power to banish them

<sup>17</sup> Of the *cartas de doação* and *forais* of the Brazilian *donatários*, those of Duarte Coelho (Pernambuco), Pedro do Campo Tourinho (Pôrto Seguro), Vasco Fernandes Coutinho (Espírito Santo), Jorge de Figueiredo Corrêa (Ilhéus), and Martim Afonso de Sousa (São Vicente) are published in *Documentos históricos* (41 vols. to date, Rio de Janeiro, 1928—), XIII, 68-178. In addition, the *carta de doação* and *foral* of Duarte Coelho are printed in *HCP*, III, 309-313.



or to fine them not more than one hundred *cruzados*. Regardless of social condition, he could impose the death penalty in cases of heresy, treason, sodomy, and the making of false money. He was also given the right to found towns and appoint officers; to issue licenses for mills, saltworks, and other enterprises; to levy taxes and tithes; and to hold certain monopolies. He was given as his own property within his whole grant a tract ten leagues wide, which was tax-free and inalienable.

The *foral* gave in detail the obligations of the *donatário* to the king, such as the king's fifth (*quinto*) on all metals, and the obligations of the settlers to the *donatário*, such as the tenth (*dízima*) and twentieth (*redízima*) on certain articles. It gave the *donatário* the right to give land in *sesmarias* on two conditions: that the *sesmeiro*, or recipient, be a Christian and that he pay a tithe to the Order of Christ. In conclusion it required all "the dwellers and inhabitants and people" of the captaincy to serve in it with the *donatário* in time of war if necessary.<sup>18</sup>

Tested against the definition of feudalism as a political system of members of a military class in which land was given in return for military services, the provisions of the *cartas de doação* and especially of the *forais* do not appear feudal. The duty that they laid on the *donatário* was that of colonizing the land, not necessarily that of military service. In this essential matter of giving land in return for military service, the conditions are clearer in the relation of the *donatário* to his settlers. It will be noted that in the *foral* land was given in relation to the religion and the tithe-paying of the *sesmeiro*. Military service was put at the end of the document and was something that could be claimed by the *donatário* in time of war from all the inhabitants of the captaincy, regardless of land tenure.

Tested against the broader definition of feudalism as a

<sup>18</sup> "Os moradores e povoadores e povo da dita capitania serem obryguados em tempo de guerra a servir nella com o capitão se lhe necesario for." *Foral* of Duarte Coelho, *HCP*, III, 313. It should be noted that nowhere in the discussion of *sesmarias* in the *Ordenações manuelinas*, Book IV, title lxxvii, is mention made of military service as a duty of the *sesmeiro*.

class system in which the landholders had political rights or were warriors by profession, it may be seen that the provisions of the *cartas de doação* and *forais* likewise do not appear feudal. In short, whatever residue of the feudal may have remained in the terminology of the *cartas* and *forais*, the parties to the instruments were not all of the upper military class nor were they agreeing to a feudal instrument. It is therefore perhaps superfluous to point out that the king himself described his action at the head of the *carta* as an *inter-vivos* donation, a concept of the Roman law far removed from the conditions of landholding of feudal France.<sup>19</sup>

## II

If the above discussion has suggested reasons for rejecting feudalism as a proper description of the founding of Brazil, it has not at the same time suggested an alternative description. Professor Simonsen, Dr. Almeida Prado, and Dr. Andrada de Silva all accept capitalism as the alternative, as if none other could exist once feudalism had been rejected. But if capitalism is accepted, what is needed next is a differentiation of the kind of capitalism practiced by the *donatários* from the many other kinds that were being practiced then or have been practiced since.

In order to suggest a contrast with "feudalism," "capitalism" may be said to mean the investment of sums of money, with profit as a motive, to make more money. So broad a definition does not specify the various types of capitalistic enterprise that the kings of Portugal and the merchants of their nation had developed in commercial exploitation of the Atlantic and Indian oceans since the time of Prince Henry the Navigator.

So far, this discussion has concerned principally the instruments governing the settlement of Brazil. Now it will examine the economic aspects of how the *donatários* actually went about the business of colonization. But first it should take into account the fact that, by the time of the founding of

<sup>19</sup> " . . . per esta presente carta faço merce inrevogavel doaçam amtre vyvos valedoyra deste dia pera todo sempre de juro e derdade. . . ." *Carta de doação* of Duarte Coelho, HCP, III, 309.

Brazil, three types of capitalistic enterprise had become usual, each one fitted to particular circumstances of trade that the Portuguese had found in pushing along the African coast and to India.<sup>20</sup>

While that expansion of Portugal overseas has well been called a crusade,<sup>21</sup> it was a crusade in which commercial advantage was not forgotten. Readers of Azurara's chronicle will recall how prominently commerce appeared as one of the motives that led Prince Henry to invade the lands of the infidel.<sup>22</sup> The prince, indeed, was among the first to develop the overseas trading company that early became a characteristic of Portuguese commerce when dealing with regions where trade was already active. Before the middle of the fifteenth century he was a shareholder in the Lagos company and took one fifth of the profits. In 1441 he founded a great company, with a capital of seven hundred and ten thousand *reais brancos* and with income guaranteed by profits from the slave-trade, for the discovery and development of trade with islands not owned by Spain. All capitalists of the realm were invited to participate and many did, including a large number of Jews.<sup>23</sup> The companies gave Portugal a share of the trade in gold, ivory, slaves, and other wares that had long been controlled by Mohammedan traders along the African coast. Factories

<sup>20</sup> The following description of Portuguese colonization and business is based, with the exception of the particular references given below, on Almeida, *op. cit.*, III, *passim*; Francisco António Corrêa, *História económica de Portugal* (2 vols., Lisboa, 1929-1931); and João de Azevedo, *Épocas de Portugal económico* (Lisboa, 1929). Cf. also John W. Blake, *European Beginnings in West Africa, 1454-1578* (London, 1937).

<sup>21</sup> For a summary of the bulls and other documents that describe Prince Henry's work as a crusade, see C. R. Beazley, "Prince Henry of Portugal and the African Crusade of the Fifteenth Century," *American Historical Review*, XVI (1910), 11-23.

<sup>22</sup> Gomes Eannes de Azurara, *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea*, ed. by C. R. Beazley and E. Prestage [Hakluyt Society, 1st series, XCV] (London, 1896).

<sup>23</sup> Hedwig M. A. Fitzler, "Portugiesische Handelsgesellschaften des 15. und beginnenden 16. Jahrhunderts," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, Bd. XXV, Heft 3 (1932), 231-234; and "Überblick über die portugiesischen Überseehandelsgesellschaften des 15.-18. Jahrhunderts," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, Bd. XXIV, Heft 3 (1931), 283-284.



were planted at trading ports and goods, collected by factors, were taken to Portugal in the ships of the companies.

A second form of doing business grew up in the second half of the fifteenth century, when the king took over as a royal monopoly the trade built up by the private companies. Henceforth, royal factors were added to the private ones, the ships sailed under royal control, and all trade was by royal license.<sup>24</sup> With few changes, but with an increase in the number and armament of the warships that escorted the trading vessels, this was the method of commerce applied to India after 1500.

In dealing with regions where trade did not exist, such as the unpopulated islands of the Atlantic, the prince applied yet another way of doing business that combined commerce with colonization. The islands were given in whole or in part to *donatários*, who colonized them at their own cost. They received certain taxes and monopolies that gave them revenue and control over their settlers and proceeded to grow sugar and other crops.<sup>25</sup> Once settlements had become established and productive, traders in Portugal formed companies to deal with the islands on the terms used in the factories in Africa.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> This was also the method by which the first exploitation of Brazil was undertaken between 1500 and the coming of the *donatários*. For a discussion of the brazilwood companies that sent ships to Brazil, see Fitzler, "Portugiesische Handelsgesellschaften . . .," *loc. cit.*, pp. 240-244. She considers that, because of the smaller sums involved, the initial development of Brazil was much more casual and free than that of India. Merchants dealing with Brazil were not watched with Argus eyes and simply obtained trading privileges from the king. For a description of the brazilwood traders in Brazil, see my *From Barter to Slavery: Economic relations of the Portuguese and Indians in the Portuguese settlement of Brazil, 1500-1580* (Baltimore, 1942), Chap. II, *passim*.

<sup>25</sup> *Mutatis mutandis*, some idea of the powers and duties of island *donatários* may be gathered from the summary of *cartas de doação* and *forais*, above, pp. 500-501.

<sup>26</sup> In addition to the references cited above, note 21, *cf.* Paulo Merêa, "A solução tradicional da colonização do Brasil," *HCP*, III, 167-188. *Cf.* also, in relation to trading with the islands, a fifteenth-century description concerning the island of São Tomé: "Il principal fondamento degli abitanti è il far zuccheri, e quelli vender all navi che vengono ogni anno a levarlo, le quali portano farine in botte. . . ." Rinaldo Caddeo, ed., *La navigazione atlantica di Alvise Cà da Mosto, Antoniotto Usodimare e Niccoloso da Recco* (2nd ed., Milano, 1929), p. 315.

This trading between producers and carriers must not be confused with the

This third method, when applied to Brazil, was intended to settle people for the double work of defending the land and making it productive. The king divided Brazil between the Atlantic and the vaguely defined Tordesillas Line into twelve captaincies and gave each to a *donatário* under the provisions of *cartas de doação* and *forais*. Because Brazil was too obscure and India still too attractive, the high-born and wealthy did not take the grants. The first *donatários* were only of the *pequena nobreza* and the middle class, some trained in war in India, some in the fleets, and some in government offices. Some among them were landowners in Portugal, others had their government salaries, and some of the soldiers had acquired fortunes in India.<sup>27</sup>

Even so, the *donatários* did not have large resources with which to undertake at their own cost the settlement of Brazil. Duarte Coelho, the *donatário* of Pernambuco, appears to have put his entire Indian fortune into the venture.<sup>28</sup> Three other *donatários* had to sell their properties in Portugal to pay for their expeditions.<sup>29</sup> A fourth, Pedro de Góis, the *donatário* of Paraíba do Sul, associated himself with Martim Ferreira, a capitalist with several thousand *cruzados* ready for investment. Góis took charge of the ships and the settlers and

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*companhias de trazida*, which came into existence only in 1577. In the *Regimento do trato da pimenta, drogas, e mercadorias da Índia* of that year, Dom Sebastião ceased to send ships to carry goods from India, and, instead, gave contracts to a carrying or freighting company (*Reedersgesellschaft*). The *companhia de trazida* had nothing to do with the purchase or sale of goods and no connection with the royal factories in Europe or elsewhere. It simply carried goods to and fro as needed. The contract system for carriers, designed to relieve the crown of some of the costs of the Indian empire, was taken over by Philip II after the conquest of Portugal. Fitzler, "Überblick . . .," *loc. cit.*, pp. 286-289.

<sup>27</sup> For the genealogies and personal histories of the *donatários*, see Pedro de Azevedo, "Os primeiros donatários," *HCP*, III, 191-216. For treatment of their careers in Brazil, see Almeida Prado, *op. cit.*, *passim*; and my *From Barter to Slavery*, Chap. III. Interesting comparisons of the social classes and occupations of the settlers may be made with English and Spanish settlers in the Carolinas at a little later date. Cf. St. Julien Ravenel Childs, "Cavaliers and Burghers in the Carolina Low Country," in Eric F. Goldman, ed., *Historiography and Urbanization: Essays in American History in Honor of W. Stull Holt* (Baltimore, 1941), pp. 1-20.

<sup>28</sup> Gabriel Soares de Sousa, *Tratado descritivo do Brasil em 1587* (3rd ed., São Paulo, 1938), pp. 28-29.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 52, 66, 79.

went to Brazil, while Ferreira remained in Lisbon and watched the investment from there. Góis does not seem to have put any money into the partnership, but to have contributed his experience and willingness to go to Brazil.<sup>30</sup> In short, because these men had drawn so heavily on their capital, they might be expected to attempt to make their captaincies profitable as soon as possible.

Sugar appears to have been the crop to which all these men looked as the means of recouping their expenditures. The Portuguese had earlier carried sugar to Madeira<sup>31</sup> from the Levant and Sicily and, as the climate of Brazil seemed comparable to that of Madeira, it appeared likely that the *donatários* could successfully grow sugar in Brazil. Certainly the way in which towns and plantations were laid out in Brazil suggests how completely the *donatários* were devoted to the scheme of growing sugar. On landing, the *donatários* and their settlers set up a few houses and a fortification. Then, with the aid of the natives, they laid out plantations around the town. As soon as they could, they began to build *engenhos*, mills for grinding the cane and preparing the sugar.<sup>32</sup>

Examination of some of the captaincies will cast light on how their business was conducted, even though not all the captaincies were successful. Of the dozen provided for, four were never settled,<sup>33</sup> and four succumbed after settlement to

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80. Cf. also the letter of Pedro de Góis to Martim Ferreira, August 18, 1545, printed in *HCP*, III, 262, which describes the relation between the two men.

<sup>31</sup> For a description of sugar-growing in some of the islands, the model for Brazilian planters, see the accounts in Caddeo, *op. cit.* The account by Cà da Mosto has also appeared in English. Gerald Roe Crone, ed., *The voyages of Cadamosto and other documents on Western Africa in the second half of the fifteenth century* [Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, XXV] (London, 1937).

<sup>32</sup> For a summary of the laying out of towns and plantations, see Marchant, *op. cit.*, Chap. III, *passim*.

<sup>33</sup> These were the grants of João de Barros, the historian of the *Décadas da Ásia*; Aires da Cunha, António Cardoso de Barros, and Fernando Álvares de Andrade. João de Barros sent out his two sons and his settlers. First, much of the fleet was lost on the shoals off Maranhão, but many of the people escaped to the shore. Next, Indian attacks killed off many of the survivors. The remainder, deprived of means of communicating with the other captaincies and so getting aid in Brazil, finally gave up and returned to Portugal. Soares, *Tratado*, pp. 18-19.



the attack of hostile natives.<sup>34</sup> The survivors—São Vicente, Pernambuco, Pôrto Seguro, and Ilhéus—lasted well beyond the institution of the royal government in 1549.

Pedro de Góis, as has been seen, went to his captaincy of Paraíba do Sul in Brazil and left his partner Ferreira in Portugal. By 1545, less than ten years after receiving their grant from the king, Góis had already laid out canefields and had finished one sugar-mill run by water-power. He borrowed men from the neighboring captaincy of Espírito Santo who were familiar with sugar and with their aid was clearing more fields. At the same time, he was busy building two more mills to be run by horse-power. One was to be solely for the use and the profit of himself and Ferreira, but the other was to be used, for a fee, by the settlers.<sup>35</sup> He had enough labor for the work, for he had Indian slaves working at the mills while free Indians were helping him clear and plant more fields.<sup>36</sup> Altogether, the prospect was bright, for he expected to make two thousand arrobas of sugar that year “. . . e dahi pera diante mais.” At the same time, he requested his partner to send sixty Guinea slaves and twenty salaried men.<sup>37</sup> Shortly afterwards he returned to Portugal to collect more resources. Unhappily, Indian attacks in his absence had destroyed much of his settlement and continued hostilities finally drove him and his settlers away to Espírito Santo.<sup>38</sup>

Vasco Fernandes Coutinho, the *donatário* of Espírito Santo, whose captaincy was also destroyed by Indians, was even more active in the sugar business. By 1545 he had five water-mills built, of which two were already in operation. He expected two more to be working by January of 1546. Besides

<sup>34</sup> Itamaracá, of Pero Lopes de Sousa; Paraíba do Sul, of Pedro de Góis; Espírito Santo, of Vasco Fernandes Coutinho; and Baía, of Francisco Pereira Coutinho.

<sup>35</sup> Letter of Pedro de Góis to Martim Ferreira, August 18, 1545, *HCP*, III, 262.

<sup>36</sup> Letter of Pedro de Góis to D. João III, printed by Augusto Carvalho, *Apontamentos para a história da Capitania de S. Tomé*, p. 56, referred to by Merêa, *loc. cit.*, p. 181.

<sup>37</sup> Letter of Pedro de Góis to Martim Ferreira, August 18, 1545, *HCP*, III, 262.

<sup>38</sup> Same to D. João III, April 29, 1546, *HCP*, III, 263; Soares, *Tratado*, pp. 81-82.

these, he had two horse-power mills built of which one was already working. In 1546 he expected to produce one thousand arrobas of sugar. Those who knew considered his sugar to be as good as the best from Madeira. Indeed, so active and promising did Espírito Santo appear that the king's factor residing there recommended that the king build a royal factory or some place for loading sugar in order to facilitate the levying of customs.<sup>39</sup> Shortly afterwards, like Góis, the *donatário* returned to Portugal to collect more resources to put into his captaincy, this time to aid him in finding gold and silver as well as expanding his sugar plantations. He returned to find his settlement all but entirely swept away by Indian attacks from which it did not recover for over fifty years.<sup>40</sup>

The captaincy of São Vicente was the first captaincy to be established.<sup>41</sup> Though Martim Afonso de Sousa, the *donatário*, spent only a year or so in Brazil before going on to India, he kept watch on his lands from afar. It was in his captaincy that sugar was first planted, and he early ordered the building of mills to grind the cane. Other *donatários* sent to him for cane for their own fields.<sup>42</sup> Shortly afterwards, many families of Italian sugar-growers who had been working in Madeira left the island for the new sugar-fields of São Vicente.<sup>43</sup> By 1545 he had six mills with more than three thousand slaves working in them and on the surrounding plantations.<sup>44</sup> To

<sup>39</sup> Letter of Ambrósio de Meira to D. João III, September 26, 1545, *Notícias antigas do Brasil, 1531-1551* (Rio de Janeiro, 1940) [reprint from *Anais da Biblioteca nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, LVII (1940)], pp. 12-13.

<sup>40</sup> Soares, *Tratado*, pp. 77-78.

<sup>41</sup> Martim Afonso had been sent at the head of a large coastguard expedition to drive the French from Brazil. Apparently on the basis of his reports, the king decided to apply the system of *donatários*, and Martim Afonso simply had his holdings in Brazil confirmed by the *carta de doação* and the *foral*. Cf. Jordão de Freitas, "A expedição de Martim Afonso de Sousa," *HCP*, III, 97-164. Much information of the early days of his captaincy may be drawn from Frei Gaspar da Madre de Deus, *Memória para a história da capitania de São Vicente*, ed. by Afonso d'Eseragnolle Taunay (3rd ed., São Paulo, 1927), first published in 1797.

<sup>42</sup> Madre de Deus, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-169; Soares, *Tratado*, pp. 105-106.

<sup>43</sup> Enzo Silveira, "A influencia madeirense e o infeio do cyclo de assúcar na capitania de São Vicente," *Anais do III congresso sulriograndense de historia e geografia* (4 vols., Pôrto Alegre, 1940), IV, 2299-2324.

<sup>44</sup> Letter of Luís de Góis to D. João III, May 12, 1548, *HCP*, III, 259.

protect his lands and settlers, he was able to hire mercenary soldiers,<sup>45</sup> but it is not clear whether they were paid from the profits of his exports of sugar,<sup>46</sup> or whether he paid them from the booty that he was winning in India. His captaincy remained at peace with the natives and he gave orders that wealthy merchants might go and build themselves sugar mills and great plantations.<sup>47</sup> In 1568, for instance, Gaspar Schetz of Grobbendonek, a Flanders merchant and capitalist, had rich sugar lands and a mill in the captaincy and sent out factors to supervise the works.<sup>48</sup> Such plantations and mills still existed in the 1580's.<sup>49</sup>

While much the same story, *mutatis mutandis*, may be told about the other captaincies, the case of Pernambuco shows most clearly how a *donatário* intended to make his fortune from his captaincy. Duarte Coelho, as has been seen, made a large fortune in India. His expedition was perhaps one of the largest and, accordingly, one of the most expensive. By 1542, when he had planted a great quantity of cane and almost finished his first mill, he was still feeling the financial strain.<sup>50</sup>

The situation that Coelho faced in Pernambuco was not simple. Pernambuco had always been a favorite place for collecting brazilwood and that trade was still being vigorously pursued by companies operating under royal license. At the

<sup>45</sup> The most celebrated of these soldiers, and the one who described São Vicente during his service with the troops, was Hans Staden. Cf. his *Warhafftige Historia vnnß Beschreibung einer Landschaft der wilden nacketen grimmiger menschfresser Leuthen in den neuen Welt America gelegen* (Marburg, 1557). This is available in several modern translations, among which is the edition by Richard F. Burton, *The Captivity of Hans Staden* [Hakluyt Society, 1st series, LI] (London, 1874), with an enlightening preface by the editor; and that by R. Lehmann-Nitsche, *Hans Staden, ein deutscher Landsknecht in der neuen Welt* (Leipzig, 1929).

<sup>46</sup> In 1551, a ship from São Vicente laden with sugar was captured by the French off the coast of Espírito Santo. Letter of Antônio Cardoso de Barros, *provedor-mór da fazenda*, to D. João III, April 30, 1551, *Notícias antigas* . . . , p. 17.

<sup>47</sup> “. . . mercadores poderosos. . .” Soares, *Tratado*, p. 106.

<sup>48</sup> For documents concerning the property, see Alcibiades Furtado, ed., “Os Schetz da capitania de S. Vicente,” *Publicações do Arquivo Nacional* [Rio de Janeiro], XIV (1914), 7-31.

<sup>49</sup> Soares, *Tratado*, p. 106.

<sup>50</sup> Letter of Duarte Coelho to D. João III, April 27, 1542, *HCP*, III, 313.



same time, because the land and the climate were good for sugar, more and more people were starting to build mills. To this economic activity in itself Coelho did not object, for one of the things he desired was the settlement and profitable exploitation of his captaincy. What he did object to in the case of the brazilwood traders was that, as they operated under royal license, they were not under his fiscal or judicial control. He protested against the rapacity with which they had cut wood, for by 1546 the nearest substantial forests were now twenty leagues from his town. As Coelho saw it, this was a waste of his captaincy, and one from which he derived no compensation in taxes. Many of the new sugar planters he considered a detriment to his captaincy, for they came to make a profit and not to help defend the land.<sup>51</sup> Contractors and armateurs<sup>52</sup> were dealing with his settlers for their crops, and the settlers in turn were expanding their holdings to produce more. In need of room, they were taking lands from the Indians, and, in need of labor, they were attacking and enslaving other natives. In time, they provoked retaliatory native wars for which they were unprepared. To prevent the Indians from coming too close to his main settlement, Coelho was forced to defend these persons whether he wished to or not.<sup>53</sup> Though at this time Coelho was still complaining to the king of being poor and spent, he was able to hire mercenary troops to help fight off the hostile natives.<sup>54</sup>

From about 1550 on, he began to balance his books. For a few years before, he had been making arrangements with persons in Portugal to go to Brazil and build sugar-mills<sup>55</sup> and, presumably, to defend them. Of the obligations to him of these persons and other settlers he kept careful record, in order to calculate his taxes.<sup>56</sup> Some of the wealthiest (*pode-*

<sup>51</sup> *Idem to idem*, December 20, 1546, *HCP*, III, 314.

<sup>52</sup> For an early instance of armateurs dealing with Espírito Santo, see the letter of Ambrósio de Meira to D. João III, September 26, 1545, *Notícias antigas* . . . , p. 13.

<sup>53</sup> Letter of Duarte Coelho to D. João III, December 20, 1546, *HCP*, III, 314.

<sup>54</sup> Again the witness of the troops is Hans Staden, who served in Pernambuco before going to São Vicente.

<sup>55</sup> Letter of Duarte Coelho to D. João III, April 14, 1549, *HCP*, III, 319.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

*rosos*) of the new settlers built mills, and others less wealthy laid out more plantations of sugar, cotton, and foods.<sup>57</sup> Even so, when in 1550 he told the king that the captaincy went on well and had five mills built and at work, he complained that he himself had yet to make a profit, so great had been his expenses.<sup>58</sup>

While Duarte Coelho himself probably did not enjoy much of the profit that eventually came from his defense of his lands, his son became one of the wealthiest men in all Brazil. About 1580, the son was receiving nineteen thousand *cruzados* a year from the tenth on sugar-mills alone, in addition to the profit from sugar grown on his own land. Indeed, in Pernambuco the operation of an agricultural colony for profit had its greatest success. Many men, said a wise observer, return wealthy to Portugal who went to Pernambuco very poor.<sup>59</sup> Fifty mills and wide sugar-fields provided the sugar which forty and fifty ships a year came to carry away. More than a hundred men had incomes of between one thousand and five thousand *cruzados* a year, and there were even some with eight, ten, or twelve thousand *cruzados* a year.<sup>60</sup>

### III

Whatever may have been the emotional temper of the *donatários* and their interest in deeds of arms against the Indians,<sup>61</sup> they were not members of a feudal society and they did not found feudal landholdings in Brazil. The *donatário* did not hold his lands from the king simply in return for feudal services and neither did the *sesmeiro* owe such services for the lands he held from the *donatário*. Likewise, the holding of land in Brazil did not necessarily bestow on anyone except the *donatário* political powers and rights over the property of his inferiors.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 320.

<sup>58</sup> *Idem to idem*, November 24, 1550, *HCP*, III, 321.

<sup>59</sup> Soares, *Tratado*, p. 29.

<sup>60</sup> Soares, *Tratado*, p. 29.

<sup>61</sup> Some of the settlers with money and power did find sentimental imitation of the traditions of the feudal nobility to their taste, but such imitation should be placed against the remark by Stephenson (*op. cit.*, p. 104): "Yet the feudal aristocracy, with the decay of its actual power, the more proudly flaunted its chivalric traditions." He is speaking of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

On the other hand, the *donatários* were clearly capitalistic in the sense of investing money for profit. They were planter capitalists and not primarily traders, and their investment was in land and slaves. Only after the *donatários* had begun plantation economy in Brazil did merchants, organized in trading companies and investing not in land and slaves but in buying, selling, and transporting sugar, bring to Brazil another and more obviously recognized type of capitalism.

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## DOCUMENTS

### EXTRACT FROM THE DIARY OF DOM PEDRO II

The extract from Dom Pedro's diary from which this copy was made is in the Pedro d'Orléans-Bragança Archives (Maço CXXX, No. 6373). This valuable collection was at the Château d'Eu, home of their owner, the late Prince Pedro d'Orléans-Bragança, when the present writer examined them in 1933. Shortly thereafter the prince, who was the eldest son of the Princess Imperial Isabel, moved with his family to Petrópolis, Brazil. Here he died suddenly of a heart attack in January, 1940.

Soon after the Germans occupied France they requisitioned the château. But apparently Prince Pedro Gastão, son of the late prince, secured permission to remove the archives to Brazil, and in August, 1941, went to France to get them (*Correio da Manhã*, Rio de Janeiro, August 24, 1941).

The extract is itself a transcript, made in Brazil, as the late prince told the present writer, who has no recollection of having seen the original diary for the period covered. This fact suggests that the copy may have been made because the original was in some way damaged. The transcript is in ink, but has two penciled additions in brackets in what looks like the emperor's hand. On the whole, it is clearly written, whereas many of Dom Pedro II's notebooks, especially those of later years, are mere scribbles which, the prince said, were illegible to him.

In this part of his diary the emperor deliberately goes on record for the sake of being understood by history, which gives the extract peculiar value. Besides revealing, somewhat incidentally, his love for learning and his conscientious interest in governmental details, he shows his attitude towards his own functions and his constitutional limitations, and sets forth his views on many Brazilian public questions of the day.

MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS.

Goucher College.

31 de Dezembro de 1861

Começo este trabalho só agora; porque a experiencia difficilmente se aproveita, e dos annos que vivi ha muitos successos, que apenas á memoria propria devia confiar, mesmo para ella facilmente esquecel-os. Além d'isto a mocidade rouba muito tempo, ainda que este não me sóbre para principiar amanhã um diario de minha vida, cuja parte que pertence ao publico fica alias registrada nos periodicos e a particular é bastante monotona. Por isso muito resumido serei; esforçando-me comtudo por não omittir o que me parecer d'importancia. Tinha apontamentos dos annos passados; mas julguei acertado queimal-os.

Pouco direi do individuo. Tenho espirito justiceiro, e entendo que o amor deve seguir estes grãos de preferencia: Deus, humanidade, patria, familia e individuo. Sou dotado de algum talento; mas o que sei devo-o sobre tudo á minha applicação, sendo o estudo, a leitura e a educação de minhas filhas que amo extremosamente, meus principaes divertimentos. Louvam minha liberalidade; mas não sei porquê; com pouco me contento e tenho oito centos contos por anno.

Nasci para consagrar-me ás letras e ás sciencias, e a occupar posição politica, preferiria a de presidente de republica ou ministro, á de Imperador. Se ao menos meo pae imperasse ainda estaria eu ha 11 annos com assento no Senado e teria viajado pelo mundo.

Jurei a Constituição; mas ainda que a não jurasse seria ella para mim uma segunda religião. Procuro cumprir meos deveres de monarcha constitucional e regulo meo procedimento pelos principios seguintes: os actos do poder moderador não admittem responsabilidade legal; mas carecendo ás vezes de defeza os ministros que entenderem não poder fazel-a têm direito de retirar-se. Estes actos não têm referencia obrigada.

Sobre os actos do poder executivo têm o Imperador, como chefe d'esse poder, inteira inspecção podendo manifestar sempre a sua opinião com toda a liberdade e exigir a dos ministros. Deve ter todo o cuidado e escrupulo em insistir em sua opinião para evitar os males da subserviencia e desgostos da parte dos ministros. Cumpre ao monarcha ser franco para com os ministros; mas fóra das occasiões em que se resolvam os negocios, deve ser o mais reservado possivel, ouvindo comtudo a todos e procurando esclarecer por todos os meios convenientes o seu juizo. A respeito do conceito, que forme o monarcha dos individuos, todo o escrupulo é pouco, e deve lembrar-se sempre de que os ministros desculpam-se as mais vezes com a opinião d'elle, ou que lhe imputam, quando se acham empenhados, interesses individuaes.

Não sou de nenhum dos partidos para que todos apoiem nossas

instituições; apenas os modêro, como permittem as circumstancias, julgando-os até indispensaveis para o regular andamento do systema constitucional, quando como verdadeiros partidos e não facções, respeitem o que é justo.

Não tenho tido, nem tenho validos, caprichando mesmo em evitar qualquer accusação a tal respeito, sobretudo quanto a validas. Dizem que por esse nimio escrúpulo não poderei crear amigos, melhor, não os terei falsos quando os haja grangeado.

Não posso admittir favor differente de justiça; pois que a não ser injustiça é ignorancia de justiça; a balança da justiça não se pode conservar tão ouro-fio que não penda mais para um lado. Tambem entendo que despeza inutil é furto á Nação, e só o poder legislativo é competente para decidir d'essa utilidade.

A nossa principal necessidade politica é a liberdade de eleição; sem esta e a da imprensa, não ha systema constitucional na realidade, e o ministerio que transgrede ou consente na transgressão d'este principio é o maior inimigo do Estado e da monarchia.

Minhas ideas a respeito das eleições e da imprensa do governo acham-se n'um papel que têm o presidente do Conselho.

Leio constantemente todos os periodicos da Côrte, e das provincias os que, pelos extractos que d'elles se fazem, me parecem mais interessantes. A tribuna e a imprensa são os melhores informantes do monarcha.

Acho muito prejudicial ao serviço da Nação a mudança repetida de ministros, o que sempre procuro evitar e menos se daria se as eleições fossem feitas como desejo; a opinião se firmaria e o procedimento dos ministros seria mais conforme seus deveres; reputando eu um de nossos grandes males a falta geral de responsabilidade effectiva.

Sobre grande numero de leis promulgadas, e de que se têm fallado como necessarias, existe a minha opinião escripta em papeis que tem o presidente do Conselho; mas sempre direi aqui que fui sempre partidario da eleição por circulo, e me oppuz fortemente aos circulos de mais de um; que igual opposição fiz á lei relativa á nacionalidade de filhos menores de estrangeiros, sendo aquelles nascidos no Brasil; que não approvei a lei sobre o casamento dos acathólicos, mas a proposta do governo e que entendo ser indispensavel a dispensa do serviço activo da guarda Nacional. Menor centralisação administrativa tambem é urgente, assim como melhor divisão das rendas geral, provincial e municipal convindo vigorar este ultimo elemento.

Nunca entendi a conciliação como a quizeram deturpar; a minha politica sempre foi a da justiça em toda a latitude da palavra, isto é, da razão livre de paixões tanto quanto os homens a podem alcançar.



Confesso que em 21 annos muito mais se poderia ter feito; mas sempre tive o prazer de ver os effeitos beneficos de 11 annos de paz interna devido á boa indole dos Brasileiros, e viveria inteiramente tranquillo em minha consciencia se meu coração já fosse um pouco mais velho do que eu; comtudo respeito e estimo sinceramente minha mulher, cujas qualidades constitutivas do character individual são excellentes.

Janeiro.

1. Nada houve de notavel além da cerimonia da collocação da 1ª pedra no basamento da estatua de meu Pae. A estatua agrada-me muito, apesar de vista de perto. É collossal e muito semelhante segundo dizem os que conheceram meu Pae, ainda que, julgando pelos retratos, não me parece exacto o perfil, e a ponta do nariz se me afigura chata de mais. A posição do cavallo não pôde ser mais natural.

Os artigos de fundo [do] Mercantil<sup>1</sup> e do Diario<sup>2</sup> suscitaram-me as seguintes declarações: Sempre procuro que os negocios se resolvam pela maioria dos ministros, cujos votos desenvolvidos procuro, quando é preciso para sua maior clareza, a ainda ha dias se venceu por maioria de 4 contra meu parecer e do Caxias,<sup>3</sup> Souza Ramos<sup>4</sup> e Sayão Lobato,<sup>5</sup> que não se creasse uma folha official, supprimida nas circumstancias actuaes qualquer outra despesa com a imprensa do governo.

O scepticismo ou indifferentismo nunca foi a minha politica, e todas as medidas e providencias, que tenho lembrado e lembro por escripto ou de viva voz, entre as quaes sobresaem a reforma judiciaria para separação das attribuições judicarias das policiaes, e segurança da liberdade individual, provam a minha asserção, não me descuidando tambem de chamar a attenção do governo para qualquer abusos que me constem.

Depois da guerra contra Rosas sempre fui partidario da abstenção do Brasil nos negocios do Prata, sem prejuizo da honra nacional e dos interesses Brasileiros, e bem me oppuz á occupação de Montevidéo pelas tropas do Brasil, ainda que houvesse pedido do governo Oriental.

Protesto contra qualquer idéa de annexação de territorio estrangeiro ou sua mudança de systema de governo, como injusta e altamente prejudicial ao Brasil.

<sup>1</sup> *Correio Mercantil* (Rio de Janeiro).

<sup>2</sup> *Diario do Rio de Janeiro*.

<sup>3</sup> Luiz Alves de Lima, Barão (later Duque) de Caxias, president of the Council of State.

<sup>4</sup> José Ildefonso de Sousa Ramos, Visconde de Jaguarí, minister of the empire.

<sup>5</sup> Francisco de Paula Negreiros Saião Lobato, Visconde de Niterói, minister of the empire earlier in the year; later, minister of justice.

Com effeito tem havido versatilidade de opinião nos ministros, mas as circumstancias do paiz têm concorrido para isso, e os que não se accommodam a ellas creio que não realisariam a politica de moderação, que facilita os beneficos effeitos da indole dos Brasileiros, a que devemos tantos annos de paz interna. Esta doce experiencia ha de permittir a tão justamente desejada reorganisação dos partidos conforme o exige o nosso systema politico, que quer o progresso, mas seguro. Haja eleições como ellas devem ser, e portanto todas as suas consequencias, e o Brasil terá certo o seu futuro e o monarcha dias serenos.

Não sou partidario da pena capital, mas o estado de nossa sociedade ainda a não dispensa, e ella existe na lei; comtudo, usando d'uma das attribuições do poder moderador, commuto-a sempre que ha circumstancias que o permittam, e para melhor realisação d'este pensamento, é sempre ouvida a secção de Justiça do Conselho d'Estado sobre os recursos de graça, consultando ella n'esse sentido. A idéa de consulta da secção para esse fim, foi minha.

2. Nada houve de notavel. Fallarei ainda um pouco de minhas idéas administrativas. Entendo que o melhor emprego do dinheiro é dos meios de communicação. A colonisação estrangeira e nacional é tambem de urgente necessidade, e o que penso sobre o melhor systema de colonisação acha-se escripto nos papeis de que tenho fallado. Muito tenho pugnado pela creação de agentes de colonisação de paga certa.

Dóe-me ver como são desaproveitados os bens das ordens religiosas, e approvando as idéas contidas no relatorio do Nabuco,<sup>6</sup> para que o valor de parte d'esses bens sirva para educação do clero secular, opponho-me á entrada de noviços e noviças a fim de que as ordens se vão extinguindo.

O Acto Addicional é grande embaraço para conveniente uniformidade do ensino publico; porem muito podem fazer os presidentes. O ensino deve [ser] inteiramente secular, com excepção do religioso; mas livre ainda que sujeito á inspecção da autoridade. Seria util a creação de uma universidade na Côrte conservando[-se] as escolas superiores das provincias. Não sou contrario á instrucção religiosa e missão de padres estrangeiros, sob a vigilante inspecção dos bispos e do governo enquanto não se habilitem padres nacionaes.

O instituto das Irmãs de Caridade é excellente em todos os officios proprios de seu nome, cumprindo coartar a sua tendencia a estender sua influencia além d'esses limites. Deveria existir aqui uma direcção independente da de Paris, como eu e José Clemente<sup>7</sup> quizemos desde o

<sup>6</sup> José Tomaz Nabuco de Araújo, great Brazilian abolitionist leader, formerly member of the ministry.

<sup>7</sup> José Clemente Pereira, a member of the ministry in 1841.

principio, e este tinha esperanças de conseguir, segundo me disse quando para virem as irmãs se tratou d'essa questão. Creio que houve tal qual promessa da parte das Irmãs de Caridade, e assim têm ellas procurado estender seu predomínio. Tenho seguido seus passos, e advertido os provedores da Misericórdia,<sup>8</sup> sendo Camillo Faro quem mostrou energia.

A agricultura reclama toda a atenção dos poderes do Estado carecendo principalmente de vias de comunicação. Alguns melhoramentos se podem generalisar na cultura das terras, e a criação de escolas praticas facilitando ao mesmo tempo aos fazendeiros em mais adequadas circumstancias a aquisição de agricultores entendidos no emprego dos mais uteis processos, assim como dos instrumentos precisos, trará esse benefico resultado.

Ha annos que se poderia ter feito isso; mas tudo marcha entre nós de modo desanimador, apesar de eu empregar todos os esforços que posso na minha posição de monarcha constitucional.

D'este livro constará a data em que tiver lembrado o que me parecer util ao paiz.

3. Fui hoje á fabrica de armas na Conceição. A casa de armas ainda não tem livro de entrada e sahida como officina do Arsenal de guerra. Ha diversas machinas trabalhando; mas as principaes ainda não estão montadas apesar de chegadas ha muitos mezes e outras ainda não se lhes applicou o motor que é uma machina de vapor de força de 6 cavallos. Uma espingarda espoleta faz-se em 3 dias e por 30\$000; uma pistola por 12\$500. Transforma-se uma espingarda de pederneira em fulminação por 4\$140 termo medio; mas se ha ababamento como dizem, isto é concerto, sahe a 6\$000. Ha uma escola para os aprendizes frequentada durante 2 horas no dia por 15 alumnos. Escrevem mal e só um reparte. A fortaleza está em ruinas e ha peças cujo ferro se está estragando de todo. Existem 8 pretos no serviço, um escravo da nação e 7 Africanos livres.

Nada mais houve hoje digno de escrever.

Quero que tambem fique n'este livro registrada minha opinião sobre a questão bancaria. Entendo que houve abuso de credito. Quando se tratou do projecto do Salles<sup>9</sup> em Conselho de Ministros defendi os direitos do Banco do Brasil adquiridos por um contracto. Oppuz-me ás emendas da Commissão do Senado ao projecto primi-

<sup>8</sup> The Santa Casa da Misericórdia of Rio de Janeiro, founded in 1582 by José de Anchieta, Jesuit missionary.

<sup>9</sup> Francisco de Sales Tórres-Hoem, Visconde de Inhomerim, minister of finance in the conservative ministry of 1858.



tivo do Ferraz<sup>10</sup> apresentando até como razão de minha acquiescencia ao projecto do Salles depois das observações a que já me referi sobre os direitos do Banco do Brasil, a dispensa em que este ficara do resgate das notas. A intelligencia que o Paranhos<sup>11</sup> seguiu pareceu-me muito politica e conforma-se á minha opinião desde que se principiou a tratar de restricções ao credito exagerado; mas não está de accordo nem com o espirito nem com a letra da lei ainda que fosse defendida com muita habilidade.

4. No despacho nada houve de notavel. Antes d'elle recommendei ao Presidente do Conselho que, visto não ter passado a creação da folha official, me apresentasse conta circumstanciada do que se despendesse com a imprensa do governo.

5. Cheguei hoje a Petropolis ás 10 da manhã. Na barca o Paranhos disse-me que pretendia propor a regularisação dos creditos. Inclina-se á extincção dos creditos supplementares e extraordinarios, e a que a passagem de uma verba para outra assim como a distribuição do credito votado no orçamento para cada verba se faça por decreto. Fallou-me na vantagem dos commandantes de navios de guerra serem nomeados por decreto.

O Souza Ramos além da reforma municipal trata da administração que pedio Jequitinhonha<sup>12</sup> para estudar e da do Conselho d'Estado a que não se inclina por ora como o Olinda<sup>13</sup> a quem ouviu.

Em Petropolis chuevo nos dias (o dia comprehende o tempo em que está fóra e a noite) 6, 9, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31 de Dezembro. [There follow some records on temperature and barometric pressure for the first days of January, which are omitted here.]

A 2 chuevo durante o dia até 5 horas da tarde, 23 mm., e a 3 durante o dia até 7 horas da manhã de 4,12 mm.

Pretendo distribuir assim o tempo.<sup>14</sup> Accordar ás 6, e até ás 7 grego ou hebraico; passeio até 8 ou 8 1/2, e de então até 10 grego ou

<sup>10</sup> Angelo Muniz da Silva Ferraz, Barão de Uruguaiana, a member of the preceding ministry.

<sup>11</sup> José Maria da Silva Paranhos, Visconde do Rio-Branco, who served in many ministries. In the Caxias government of 1861-1862, he was at first minister of foreign affairs and, later, minister of finance.

<sup>12</sup> Francisco Gé Acaiaba de Montezuma, Visconde de Jequitinhonha.

<sup>13</sup> Pedro de Araújo Lima, Marquês de Olinda, sole regent during Dom Pedro II's later minority and a member of various subsequent ministries.

<sup>14</sup> The great proportion of time devoted by Dom Pedro to favorite intellectual pursuits is explained by the fact that the hottest part of the summer, which he spent in the summer capital in the mountains, was a partial vacation. He usually went to Petrópolis early in January.

hebraico; 10 almoço. Das 12 ás 4 excepto terças e quintas em que será até 3 exame de negocios ou estudo. Jantar e ás 5 1/2 passeio. Das 9 ás 11 escripta d'este livro, e leitura; depois dormir.

Assisto ás lições do Sapucahy<sup>15</sup> de inglez e de allemão dadas a minhas filhas. Nas 2as feiras ler-lhes-hei Barros<sup>16</sup> das 7 1/2 ás 8 da noite; 3as feiras Lusiadas das 10 1/2 ás 11 da manhã, das 3 ás 4 dar-lhes-hei lição de mathematicas, e latim com ellas das 7 ás 8 da noite; 4as latim com minhas filhas das 10 1/2 ás 11; 5as Lusiadas das 10 1/2 ás 11; explicarei a minhas filhas a physica de Ganet, das 3 ás 4, e latim com ellas das 7 1/2 ás 8 da noite; nas 6as latim com minhas filhas das 10 1/2 ás 11, e Barros das 7 1/2 ás 8 da noite.

Domingos e dias santos leitura de Lucena<sup>17</sup> durante uma hora e meia hora, de leitura do Jardim, das raizes gregas á noite.

O tempo que não tem emprego indicado será occupado com leitura, conversa ou recebimento de visitas. Nas 4as á noite tenho ministro, e quando puder é que lerei Barros das 7 1/2 ás 8.

A affluencia de negocios ou visitas que não possam esperar é provavel que transtornem muitas vezes esta distribuição do tempo.

6. Hontem de noite houve grande enchente. Subio tres palmos acima da parte da rua do Imperador do lado da Rhenania;<sup>18</sup> accordou a Camara, e um homem cahio no canal devendo a vida a saber nadar e aos soccorros que lhe prestaram.

Conversei hoje com o engenheiro do districto; pouco se fez do anno passado para ca. Os estragos que fez a enchente levarão 2 mezes a reparar segundo me disse o engenheiro. Fallei-lhe sobre a vantagem de introduzir na colonia a cultura da amoreira e creação do bicho da seda.

7. Nada de notavel. Escrevi ao Manoel Felizardo<sup>19</sup> recomendendo ainda mais uma vez que se trate de segurar o morro do Castello como propoz uma commissão de engenheiros de que faziam parte de Law, Neate e Quinty. Receio muito que haja alguma desgraça com esta chuva.

<sup>15</sup> Cândido José de Araújo Viana, Marquês de Sapucaí.

<sup>16</sup> Apparently the reference is to João de Barros (1496-1570), the "Portuguese Livy."

<sup>17</sup> Reference is apparently made to João Lucena (1550-1600), one of the purest of Portuguese classical writers, author of *História do padre Francisco Xavier e do que fizeram na Índia os mais religiosos da Companhia de Jesus*.

<sup>18</sup> Rhineland, so named because settled, during the reign of Dom Pedro I, by a group of Germans.

<sup>19</sup> Manuel Felizardo de Sousa e Melo, who had served in many ministries, was at that time in charge of the portfolios of agriculture, commerce, and public works.

8. Fui ao hospital esta manhã. A agua na noite de 5 chegou a altura de 3 palmos no andar terreo. É máo local para hospital. Na noite de 5 chuveo 161 mm. do pluviometro.

Veio Manoel Felizardo para despacho. Nada houve d'importancia no despacho. Estão dadas todas as providencias para evitar desastres provenientes de desabamentos do morro do Castello. O Manoel Felizardo parece mais inclinado ao arrasamento e não ter lido o parecer sobre a sustentação da parte do morro do Castello que ha tanto ameaça cahir.

9. Nada de notavel. Ha um artigo de Diani sobre o Itapura que me faz registrar aqui que me oppuz á nomeação do actual director por cujo bom procedimento o ministro da marinha disse que respondia. Tambem não me parece justa a não promoção do ex-director da colonia o 1º tenente da armada Antonio Marianno d'Azevedo. Sinto que se façam tantas cousas mal feitas, mas eu sempre me opponho e ellas.

10. Nada; só muita tristeza ainda que seja preciso mostrar cara alegre. Muitas cousas me desgostam; mas não posso logo remedial-as e isso afflige-me profundamente. Se ao menos eu pudesse fazer constar geralmente como eu penso! Mas, para quê, se tão poucos acreditariam nos embaraços que encontro para que se faça o que eu julgo acertado! Ha muita falta de zelo e o amor da patria só é uma palavra para a maior parte! Ver onde está o bem e não poder concorrer para elle senão lentamente burlando-se muitas vezes os proprios esforços é um verdadeiro tormento de Tantaló para o soberano que têm consciencia; mas a resignação é indispensavel para que a influencia do soberano va produzindo sem abalos sempre maos seus effeitos desinteressados do que não seja bem publico—alvo necessario do monarcha constitucional.

## MATERIALS RELATING TO BRAZIL IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES<sup>1</sup>

The records of the federal government are as noteworthy for their diversity of subject as for their extraordinary abundance; and it will not, therefore, occasion surprise to learn that much documentary ma-

<sup>1</sup> This report was compiled in the Office of the Director of Reference Service from data supplied by the several records divisions. More detailed lists of materials on specific subjects can be prepared, or information furnished from the records, in response to specific requests made to the Director of Reference Service, The National Archives. Some of the records described are confidential in character, and special authorization to use them may be necessary. Needless to say, material of the type hereinafter listed exists for other Latin-American countries.



terial on the largest of the Latin-American nations has accumulated in the files of many of the federal offices in Washington. The largest body of this material, and the portion of greatest interest to most students of history, was created in the course of formal diplomatic and consular relations between the United States and Brazil. During the greater part of the independent history of the two nations, this type of record was almost the only one produced. In more recent years, as the federal government expanded its functions, and relations with South America grew in importance, agencies concerned primarily with domestic matters became interested in, and acquired informational and other records relating to, Brazil. Neither the diplomatic nor the other records deal solely with formal diplomatic relations. Many sources exist in The National Archives for the study of the economic, social, and political development of Brazil. The summary description of records which follows is the result of a rapid exploratory survey; no pretense at exhaustiveness has been made.

All the diplomatic and consular records for the period prior to August 15, 1906, that were formerly in the custody of the Department of State in Washington, D. C., have been transferred to The National Archives. These records include despatches from American consular and diplomatic representatives in foreign countries, copies of instructions issued to such representatives by the Department, notes addressed to the Department by foreign consular and diplomatic representatives in the United States, and copies of the notes addressed to such representatives by the Department. For the period from 1809 to 1821, the diplomatic instructions with respect to Brazil were addressed to the American ministers accredited to the court of Portugal, but residing in Brazil. There are seventy-two volumes of despatches, 1809-1906, from United States ministers in Brazil, of which three volumes are from those accredited to the Portuguese government. The notes addressed to the Brazilian legation in Washington, 1824-1906, are bound in five volumes, and those received from that legation, in eight volumes. The copies of instructions issued to American consuls in Brazil were entered chronologically in the general series of instructions to consuls. Consular despatches are on file from the following posts: Baía, 1808-1906, twelve volumes;<sup>2</sup> Manaus, 1881-1882 (bound with Pará, Vol. VII); Maranhão, 1818-1877, three volumes; Pará, 1827-1906, eleven volumes; Parnaíba, 1867-1872 (bound with Pará, Vol. VII); Pernambuco, 1817-1906, seventeen volumes; Rio de Janeiro, 1818-1906, thirty-three volumes; Rio Grande do Sul, 1829-

<sup>2</sup> The four volumes covering the years 1808-1849 are filed under the name of São Salvador.

1897, seven volumes; Santa Catarina, 1831-1874, one volume; and Santos, 1831-1906, six volumes. In addition to the principal series described above, there is Brazilian material in the series known as "Miscellaneous Letters and Special Agents," and in the diplomatic and consular records relating to other states. The files of international treaties contain the originals of treaties and conventions concluded between the United States and Brazil, 1828-1906, and papers relating thereto.

The post records of the United States legation and embassy at Rio de Janeiro, 1809-1919, one hundred and thirty-three volumes, and the post records of the following consulates and consular agencies have likewise been deposited in The National Archives: Aracajú, 1883-1905, five volumes; Baía, 1821-1920, one hundred and fifty volumes; Ceará, 1849-1914, sixteen volumes; Maceió, 1890-1913, two volumes; Manaus, 1882-1923, twelve volumes; Maranhão, 1852-1924, twenty-three volumes; Natal, 1880-1913, eight volumes; Pará, 1834-1921, fifty-four volumes; Pernambuco, 1823-1928, one hundred and eight volumes; Rio de Janeiro, 1833-1925, two hundred and eighty-seven volumes; Rio Grande do Sul, 1829-1911, forty-four volumes; Santa Catarina, 1833-1874, five volumes; Santos, 1880-1922, thirty-three volumes; São Paulo, 1907-1915, one volume; and Vitória, 1890-1932, eight volumes. The diplomatic and consular post records usually contain the originals of instructions from, and copies of the despatches to, the Department, general correspondence, fee books, registers of American citizens, and miscellaneous documents and books. There is much material in these records that is not duplicated in the series created in the Washington offices of the Department of State. The files of the Department of State for the period subsequent to 1920 are not open to the public. The Department will, however, consider requests from qualified persons to consult its files for the period from August 15, 1906, through the year 1920. The files for the period prior to August 15, 1906, are, with a few exceptions, unrestricted.

The records of the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations of the Department of Agriculture contain reports of American consular officials, agricultural trade commissioners, and special agents relating to foreign agricultural production, market trends, prices, consumption, and such matters. The following subjects are among those dealt with in the files relating specifically to Brazil: trade, cotton, cotton exports, livestock, sugar and molasses, cocoa, rubber, crop conditions, tobacco, fruit, publications, crop reports, dairy industry, beverages, vegetables, honey, import policies, international agreements, labor, land policies, legislation, marketing policies, nuts, oil and oil seeds,

storage, poultry and eggs, prices, production policies, seeds, silk, spices, textiles, tobacco, transportation and shipping, wool, agricultural policy, breadstuffs, coöperation, food canning, foodstuffs, standards, hides and skins, export policies, fibers, feedstuffs, and fertilizers. The papers in these files are dated from 1911 to 1940.

The correspondence files of the Office of the Secretary of Agriculture in The National Archives include incoming letters, 1893-1933, and copies of outgoing letters, 1879-1933. In these files are several hundred items pertaining to Brazil. They deal not only with Brazilian agriculture, but also with trade between the two countries (including the exchange of coffee for grain negotiated by the Federal Farm Board in 1931), tariffs and other restrictions on commerce, the introduction of plants from one country to the other, the exchange of information between the two nations, American exhibits in Brazil, American students and business men in that country, and Brazilian visitors in the United States. These papers, which are scattered in the correspondence files under various subject headings, may be found by consulting the annual indexes, wherein all items relative to Brazil are indexed under the name of that country. A small number of subject folders are, however, more exclusively concerned with Brazil. These relate principally to the participation or nonparticipation of the Department of Agriculture in exhibitions and conferences held in that country, including the Brazilian International Exposition, 1921-1923, the International Road Congress, 1929, and the International Coffee Conference, 1931.

In the central files of the Bureau of Markets, there are many letters exchanged with Brazilian correspondents, 1915-1921. These letters contain materials relating to Brazilian agriculture and industry, and to the exchange of information and publications between the two countries. Another subject dealt with in this correspondence is the effort to develop trade in purebred livestock. For this purpose, the Department of Agriculture in 1919 and 1920 dispatched a number of representatives to Brazil who devoted their time to investigations and promotional activities. These activities are reflected in the correspondence of J. David Harrell, H. P. Morgan, and L. B. Burk. The files of this Bureau contain, in addition, a number of scattered items relating to Brazil, including a manuscript by Walter Fischer, of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, entitled "The Fresh Fruit Trade with Brazil," prepared in 1916.

In 1934, P. K. Morris was sent to Brazil by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics to study cotton production. Correspondence relating to this investigation is filed under his name, and is dated Feb-



ruary to August, 1934. There is also a file of correspondence carried on by the Cotton Division, 1927-1931, which relates to cotton production and trade. Two additional files concerning Brazil are of interest, primarily from the standpoint of the exchange of information and publications, 1923-1935.

The records of the Farm Credit Administration in The National Archives include papers of the Federal Farm Board. One of the efforts of this organization to relieve agricultural distress in the United States resulted in 1931 in an agreement between the Grain Stabilization Corporation and the Brazilian government to barter 25,000,000 bushels of wheat for 1,050,000 bags of coffee. Materials relating to the drafting of this agreement are found in the minutes of the Board, July, 1929, to May, 1933. The records of the Board also include correspondence, 1932-1934, relating to the transfer of the wheat and coffee and the marketing of the coffee in the United States. Special authorization to use these records is required.

Among the files of the Special Adviser to the President on Foreign Trade are reports, correspondence, and data accumulated in 1934-1936 in the course of negotiations for a trade agreement between the United States and Brazil. Included is material relating to Brazilian blocked exchange; discrimination against citizens of the United States and their businesses; commercial relations of Brazil with Germany, Czechoslovakia, Chile, and other countries; economic conditions in Brazil; and the resources of the individual Brazilian states. Items of particular interest include charts of the trade between Brazil and the United States, copies of a "country study" on Brazil showing trade relations with the United States and other countries between 1923 and 1932, memorandums of meetings of the Exchange Control Committee, and minutes of meetings of the inter-departmental Committee on Reciprocity Information, with briefs and digests of statements represented to it. Monthly and yearly statistics on trade between the United States and Brazil for the years 1923-1936 (with some gaps) are given in compilations and tabulations of the foreign trade statistics section of the Bureau of the Census. Figures for exports and imports of specific commodities are listed, but the records are somewhat difficult to use because they are coded.

The records of the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation constitute a useful source of information pertaining to Brazil, particularly with relation to trade and shipping. The files of the South American Trades Department for the years 1918-1919 contain material on the allocation of vessels to trades and on the assignment of cargoes to vessels; and there is an "informational file"

on shipping, shipbuilding, trade, and economic conditions in the Latin-American countries, 1918-1921, which was assembled by Ricardo de Villafranca, statistician and translator. Among the files of the Traffic Department are minutes, tariff schedules, and agreements of shipping conferences for Brazil-North American trade, 1920-1936; correspondence and reports pertaining to trade, traffic, and passenger transportation between the United States and Brazil, 1919-1936; and material pertaining to port facilities at Rio de Janeiro, 1921-1925, and at Santos, 1920-1932. Of especial interest are reports on trade and traffic conditions in Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay, 1927; on the operation of Shipping Board vessels in Brazil, 1923; and on the tonnage of vessels in the trade between the United States and Brazil, 1919. The records of the offices of the Division of Operation at Rio de Janeiro, 1919-1926, and at Santos, 1922-1929, deal with vessel operation, repairs, port facilities, fuel oil and coal supplies, labor conditions, steamship and trading companies, and trade, shipping, and traffic matters in general. Material on port facilities, fees and regulations, and on canals and docks at Rio de Janeiro and other Brazilian ports, c. 1919, are found in the files of the United States Shipping Board Port and Harbor Facilities Commission.

The records of the former Bureau of Insular Affairs contain papers, 1898-1934, relating to the parcel post convention between Brazil and the United States, school statistics, coffee, consuls, immigration, the monetary system, and trade-marks in Brazil. A few records dealing with Brazilian manganese and diamond resources are found among the files of the Joint Information Board on Minerals and Their Derivatives, 1918. A small amount of material in the records of the former Bureau of the Fisheries relates to the introduction of small-mouth black bass into the São Paulo region in 1910. Copies of the printed *Boletim Sismológico do Observatório Nacional* for the years 1906-1932, published at Rio de Janeiro, are filed in the records of the Coast and Geodetic Survey. They contain technical data on the time, strength, duration, and other characteristics of earthquakes as recorded on seismographs in Brazil. In the records of the Bureau of the Mint are reports transmitted by American diplomatic and consular representatives concerning industrial consumption of gold and silver, coinage, and other monetary matters, 1897-1932. Similar material for the period prior to 1897 is to be found in the general correspondence files of the Bureau.

Most of the records of the Food Administration that relate to Brazil deal with the importation, exportation, and sale of Brazilian coffee, 1917-1918. Among these records are correspondence and data per-

taining to control of importation, exportation, and sale by the Administration, correspondence and other material dealing with profiteering in freight rates on coffee, and reports of the various administrative units having to do with coffee regulations. In addition, these records contain copies of a few consular reports on food production and control in Brazil, and a few statistical bulletins on the production, consumption, importation, and exportation of food.

Materials relating to Brazil are scattered through the records of various offices of the War Department. The files of the Office of the Secretary of War contain scattered references to the Brazilian army, military attachés, and the exchange of military courtesies. In the records of the Office of The Adjutant General, there are materials on the same subjects and, in addition, on military escorts, the training of Brazilian officers in the United States, and the tender of Brazil's good offices in 1914 to settle the dispute between the United States and Mexico. The construction of barracks and camps in Brazil and the clothing of the Brazilian army are dealt with in the files of the Quartermaster General's Office. A few references to Brazilian ordnance matériel, 1915-1935, are found in the records of the Office of the Chief of Ordnance. The records of the Planning Branch, Office of the Assistant Secretary of War, contain a report, dated May 16, 1927, on manganese ore in Brazil. In the records of the War Industries Board are two folders of documents relating to the visit of a Brazilian military mission to the United States, and two folders relating to the work of the Brazilian Purchasing Commission, 1917-1918.

The files of the United States Senate contain messages of the Presidents and accompanying papers relating to treaties and conventions concluded between Brazil and the United States; messages of the Presidents, bills and resolutions, reports and memorials regarding various aspects of United States-Brazilian political and commercial relations; bills and memorials relating to proposals to establish steamship mail service between American and Brazilian ports; and materials relating to the claims of American citizens against the Brazilian government. Much of this material is available in print.

In the records of the Navy Department, there are extensive materials relating to Brazil in the files of both the Office of the Secretary and the Office of Naval Operations. The general correspondence files of the former office for the period 1897-1930 contain files dealing with international relations concerning Brazil, Brazilian commerce, transportation, communications, military and naval forces, natural resources, and domestic politics. A continuation of this file from 1930 to 1940 is in The National Archives, but the index to it has been



retained by the Navy Department. The records of the Office of Naval Operations for the period 1910-1932 contain reports by naval attachés and intelligence officers, and information bulletins on subjects similar to those dealt with in the Secretary's files. Among the records of the Bureau of Construction and Repair are correspondence and reports concerning the size and efficiency of the Brazilian navy, and correspondence concerning the activities of the United States in coöperating in its development. The series of naval log books transferred from the Bureau of Navigation contain the logs of vessels cruising in Brazilian waters and adjacent areas.

Photographic materials in The National Archives relating to Brazil include twenty-two glass plate negatives of Brazilian naval vessels, and about three hundred photographs taken by diplomatic and consular personnel and trade representatives in Brazil, 1926-1939, and filed under such subjects as advertising, agriculture, apiaries, building operations, cement, coffee, cotton, furniture, garbage disposal, hides, machinery, motor vehicles, ports and shipping, railways, roads, city scenes, and wearing apparel. Among the motion pictures are several recent newsreels containing Brazilian scenes, and several thousand feet of film relating to the visit of General John J. Pershing to Brazil in 1925.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Roteiro da primeira viagem de Vasco da Gama (1497-1499).* By ÁLVARO VELHO. Edited by A. Fontoura da Costa. (Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1940. Pp. 218. Illus., maps. 40 milréis.)

The most important document relating to the momentous voyage of Vasco da Gama to India is the so-called "roteiro" which appears in a fourth Portuguese edition in this volume. The editor, well known as the author of *A Marinharia dos Descobrimentos*, here brings together the results previously published, particularly the findings of Ravenstein, to which he has made valuable additions. The text is given in modern Portuguese, preceded by a short preamble giving all editions and devoting some space to the discussion of the authorship of the "roteiro," with the conclusion that it was written by Álvaro Velho, a soldier or sailor who went on the *São Rafael*. The concise notes which follow the text are mostly new and well chosen, particularly those relating to weights and measures. After an explanatory account of the voyage and a section on the ships and personnel, the editor gives extracts from letters and other documents, a facsimile of the memorandum for the instruction of Cabral, a bibliography, and adequate indices. In the arrangement of the volume the editor adheres closely to that used by Ravenstein. There is no life of da Gama and but little regarding the activities of the fleet in India beyond that contained in the text, though these would have given added interest. Some of the documents, a number of which are from the *Tôrre do Tombo* and thus inaccessible to most readers, are a welcome addition. The illustrations consist of two portraits of da Gama, facsimiles of a document signed by him and of the first page of the "roteiro," and four maps, one of which shows the whole voyage, one, portions of the east coast of Africa, and a third those on the west coast of India. The chart of the Atlantic Ocean gives three passages from the Cape Verde Islands to the Bay of St. Helena, all beginning with an inward curve along the Guinea Coast: the first is that shown by Ravenstein, the second, farther west, that of a modern pilot chart for sailing ships to the Cape, and the third, that chosen by the editor as the route taken by da Gama, which bends still more to the westward in a deep curve reaching almost to Cape São Roque. The exact route taken by da Gama's fleet over the South Atlantic is not stated in the "Roteiro,"

though it occupied ninety-six days. The course suggested in this volume, while indicating favorable sailing, cannot be accepted with full confidence.

This book is for the student of the exploration period, and as such is a valuable addition to that literature.

WILLIAM B. GREENLEE.

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*Novas cartas jesuíticas (de Nóbrega a Vieira)*. Edited by SERAFIM LEITE, S. J. Preface by Afrânio Peixoto. [Biblioteca Pedagógica Brasileira, série 5<sup>a</sup>. Brasileira, vol. 194.] (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1940. Pp. 344.)

In a few pages of introduction, Padre Leite reiterates points that have become familiar to readers of his monumental *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*. If the foundation of the Society of Jesus was only one episode in the long history of Europe, the coming of the order and its expansion coincided with the growth of Brazil itself. As the Portuguese and the Indians were the poles around which Brazilian nationality revolved, these letters by Portuguese about Indians belong, in subject and origin, to the history of Brazil.

Of the thirty-three letters and reports in the present volume, one comes from the Fondo Gesuitico in the Piazza del Gesù and one from the Archivio della Postulazione Generale in Rome; one from the Biblioteca Pública in Évora and one from the archives of the Society in Portugal. The rest Padre Leite found in the Archivum S. I. Romanum, and (with the exception of one from the section *Goa*) in the section *Brasília*. All are unpublished except for two items that he had already published in the *Jornal do Comércio*. Fifteen letters of Nóbrega, from 1552 to 1567, come first, followed by nine *cartas avulsas* for the years 1552 to 1607. Here old friends appear, Leonardo Nunes, Azpilcueta Navarro, Luiz da Grã, and Pero Correia. Nine of Vieira's letters relating to Brazil come last, chosen by Padre Leite from twenty-six that he had found.

Not the least of the problems in preparing this volume has been that of language. Some of the letters were written in Spanish, some in Latin, and some in a Portuguese that was later translated into Spanish. Padre Leite has put them all into Portuguese, a task involving translation or, in the case of Portuguese originals now lost, of retranslation from a Spanish translation. Orthography and punctuation are therefore modern. In many cases, the path of the reader has been smoothed by the translation. Nóbrega, for instance, wrote a Portu-



guesse that could be transparent and luminous, but occasionally his sentence structure took on an almost Thucydidean crabbedness and opacity. No such rough places remain.

Any volume of Jesuit letters, especially those of the sixteenth century relating to Brazil, suggests comparison with the three volumes issued by the Brazilian Academy. Modern orthography distinguishes the present one from the earlier series, where a reader was left to struggle with sixteenth-century grammar as best he could. A more striking difference is the absence of the formidable apparatus of annotations, bibliographic references, and commentaries that formed so valuable a part of the other volumes. The reason for the comparatively slight annotation is, as Padre Leite points out, that the commentary on most of the letters is in his *História da Companhia*. While, in effect, the present volume is to some extent one of *pièces justificatives* for the *História*, the notes, if few, are adequate for the letters of Nóbrega and the *cartas avulsas*. They are more abundant for the letters of Vieira.

If these letters do not come to the reader with all the fresh charm of novelty, they are nevertheless welcome and necessary to students of colonial Brazil. They supplement the three volumes of the Academy and offer further material for Vieira than is already available in the collections of his works by Lúcio de Azevedo and Ribeiro de Lessa. Their contribution is in detail, for they seldom mention matters or persons not already mentioned in the other collections. As a rule, they concern the members of the Society, their coming and going, and their struggles with the Indians and the Portuguese in matters of faith. Only one letter—that by Luiz da Grã written from Espírito Santo in 1555—goes somewhat outside Society matters in describing the attacks by the Tamóios and the French. While all Jesuit letters about Brazil are not yet available in print (and will not be until the publication of the *Corpus Iesuiticum Brasiliense* which Padre Leite hopefully foresees), every good text helps approach the completeness that is desirable with such fundamental sources. Students of Brazil are fortunate in having this new collection and are more indebted than ever to Serafim Leite.

ALEXANDER MARCHANT.

The Johns Hopkins University.

*História dos feitos recentemente praticados durante oito anos no Brasil e noutras partes sob o govêrno do ilustríssimo João Maurício Conde de Nassau Etc., ora Governador de Wesel, Tenente-General de Cavalaria das Províncias-Unidas sob o Príncipe de Orange.* By Caspar van Baerle [Barlaeus]. Translated and annotated by Cláudio Brandão. (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Ministério da Educação, 1940. Pp. 409.)

Although the occupation of the northern captaincies by the Dutch is no more than an episode in Brazilian history, few aspects of the checkered evolution of Portuguese America have been more widely studied than Holland's brilliant, if ephemeral, adventure in Brazil. A veritable plethora of books appeared on the subject in the seventeenth century. The following century added little to the vast bibliography, but a recrudescence of interest is observed in the nineteenth, when the attention of scholars was again focused on the Dutch by the publication of such learned works as those by Netscher and Varnhagen. In our own day, the field is being cultivated with unabated enthusiasm. The past few years, for example, have seen the translation of Wätjen's excellent book into Portuguese, the publication of José Honório Rodrigues and Joaquim Ribeiro's *Civilização Holandesa no Brasil*, and, finally, the appearance of a vernacular version of Barlaeus's classic *Rerum per octennium in Brasilia et alibi nuper gestarum sub, praefectura Illustrissimi Comitiss I. Mauritii, Nassoviae, &c. Comitiss, nunc Vesaliae Gubernatoris & Equitatus Faederatorum Belgii Ordd. sub Avriaco Ductoris historia*.

Caspar van Baerle (or Barlaeus, as he is usually known), Dutch historian of the administration of Count John Maurice of Nassau (1637-1644) in Brazil, was not an eyewitness of what he records—he never went to the New World—but the sources of information made available to him in Holland were abundant. Frei Rafael de Jesús says that "he wrote, and he painted, and he painted everything he wrote." (*Castrioto Lusitano*, Lisboa, 1679, p. 142). This is a just stricture, for Nassau always appears under the most favorable light. Yet Barlaeus's book, despite its evident bias, still remains one of the best accounts of the heyday of Dutch power in South America.

The first edition was published in Amsterdam in 1647, and contains a notable collection of engravings by Franz Post. Printed by Blaeu, the work is a masterpiece of the typographical art. Subsequently, a German edition (1659) and a second Latin edition (1660) were published in Cleves. A Dutch translation appeared in 1923.

The Portuguese translation, which Sr. Brandão has done care-

fully, appears in two formats. The larger folio edition (no longer obtainable) contains reproductions of the original illustrations; the smaller quarto edition (designed for the book trade) is not illustrated. Both, however, have the same text and notes. Sr. Brandão has rendered the historiography of his country a real service. Both he and the Brazilian minister of education, under whose auspices the work appeared, are to be warmly congratulated on their undertaking.

MANOEL S. CARDOZO.

The Catholic University of America.

*A capitania das Minas Gerais (Suas origens e formação)*. By AUGUSTO DE LIMA JÚNIOR. (Lisboa: Tipografia Americana, 1940. Pp. 136.)

The bibliography on Minas Gerais is not unimpressive, thanks in large measure to the publications of the Arquivo Público Mineiro and the Institutos Históricos e Geográficos of São Paulo and Rio, but a comprehensive history of the colonial period remains to be written. The best general accounts (to 1785 only) are those of the indefatigable, if antiquarian, Diogo de Vasconcelos, whose patient research is reflected in his *Historia antiga das Minas Geraes* (Belo Horizonte, 1904), and in his *Historia media de Minas Geraes* (Belo Horizonte, 1918). Important though they are, Vasconcelos's two works suffer from the limitations of being based exclusively on Brazilian sources. The history of Portuguese America, particularly in the eighteenth century, cannot be properly written with the detail and perspective that it requires, without recourse to the archives of Portugal. Likewise, Vasconcelos failed to grasp the full significance of the social and economic forces which have always underlain the history of the area. There is something evidently more vital to that history than the parade of dates, isolated happenings, governmental decrees, and royal governors.

Sr. Lima is well qualified to write on Minas Gerais, having the advantage not only of being a *Mineiro* himself but also of a long stay in Portugal, where he worked for many months in Lisbon's rich Arquivo Histórico Colonial. He now lives in Rio, far from the hills of his native Minas Gerais, but he has never lost the love for the land of his birth. His home is a veritable museum, filled with objects of art and documents connected with the development of Minas; and in the quiet of Ipanema, surrounded by his books, conveniently removed from the noisy heart of the capital, he devotes himself to the study of a past which is close to his heart.

*A capitania das Minas Gerais*, one of the latest books to come from Sr. Lima's prolific pen, contains eight sections: "Os descobridores e



povoadores"; "A grande invasão"; "O ouro"; "A formação social"; "A formação religiosa"; "A formação militar"; "A casa, o mobiliário e as alfaías"; and "A arte barroca em Minas Gerais." The titles are sufficiently self-explanatory to give a fairly complete idea of the scope of the work. As the reader may have gathered from them, the author had no intention of writing a record of the political development of Minas Gerais. Little time is spent on administrative details. On the other hand, he dwells considerably on social life, and his chapters on the religious and military formation of the captaincy are rather novel contributions to the subject. A number of suggestive observations punctuate the text. Concerning the origin of the word *bandeira* he writes: "Estavam escritas estas linhas quando encontrei na Ordenança de D. Sebastião, em 1563, que bandeira era a forma de milícia rural. A bandeira é, pois, uma instituição militar portuguesa muito antiga. Vem da idade média" (p. 18 note). During the years 1705-1750 he estimates the annual emigration of Portuguese to Brazil at 20,000 (p. 32). He points out that black Madonnas, common in Brazil, were venerated in Portugal as far back as the time of the Crusades (p. 77). Throughout his book one feels that the author has made a conscious effort to refurbish the glory that was Portugal's in Minas Gerais. This tendency, which need not be carried to sentimental lengths, is a healthy one. Historians of Minas Gerais have too often painted the history of their state with the somber colors of a Xavier da Veiga, who found little that was worthwhile in the activities of his Portuguese forebears.

Unfortunately, despite the author's background and preparation, the book falls short of what it should have been. It suffers from compression. We would have been much more grateful had the author discussed at greater length fewer aspects of his story. Its quality is not uniform. The last chapter, for example, is definitely poor. There is a pretty ring of generalities which are often more literary than historical. Sr. Lima's critical apparatus is wholly inadequate.

Outside of a few excellent pages, based for the most part on manuscript sources, the book can hardly be called a learned study, such as one might reasonably expect from a man who enjoys the rare advantage of knowing the archives of Lisbon and Minas Gerais as few people do. Rather is it a series of tableaux, each complete in itself, flavored with a charm that often betrays the *littérateur*. One might also call it a work of love, the author's tribute to the beauty of a region so impregnated with the past. The book is not without value even to the most sedate members of the profession, but the historian

of Brazil will regret that Sr. Lima did not write something more in keeping with the opportunities at his command.

MANOEL S. CARDOZO.

The Catholic University of America.

*O Brasil na Administração Pombalina (Economia e Política Externa).*

By ANTÔNIO DE SOUSA PEDROSO CARNAXIDE, VISCONDE DE CARNAXIDE. Preface by Afrânio Peixoto. [Biblioteca Pedagógica Brasileira, série 5ª. Brasileira, vol. 192.] (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1940. Pp. 357.)

Afrânio Peixoto's preface explains to Brazilian readers the principal problems in studying the period of Pombal. It indicates the point of view of the Visconde de Carnaxide, a *português de casta* now living in Brazil, a man entirely catholic and entirely of the right wing. It emphasizes the fact that this book is a history and not just another bit of the special pleading that has been poured forth so abundantly on the subject of the Marquis of Pombal. If valuable to Brazilians, it is required reading for students in North America to whom the Pombaline question and the point of view of the author are not commonplace.

At the same time, Afrânio Peixoto says, and the reader will agree, that the book is not entirely objective. Pombal is the villain of the piece, who destroyed Portugal by his attempt to make Portugal imitate the industrial mercantilism of England. Not a man of much mind, he also accepted the ideas of enlightened despotism without analysis and without understanding why agricultural Portugal could not follow English models. He began an expensive program of strengthening the monarchy and of bringing Portugal up to date, depending on Brazilian gold to finance the work and without giving due thought to the Brazilian gold crisis of 1760. With the failure of that source of revenue, he reached out in all directions for substitutes. But the sums he obtained from the Jesuits and the nobility were less than he hoped and soon vanished in the wars and expenses he incurred in trying to improve the international position of Portugal. The general tone of the book is that of decline and fall. Two of the three periods of Portuguese prosperity came before Pombal and the third came after him.

While this is one interpretation of Pombal, one wonders whether the visconde finds all to be wrong because of his dislike of Pombal. Two points stand out. One is the trial of the Távoras, recounted here with considerable skill. The conclusion is that with Pombal's destruction of the Távoras, regardless of rights and wrongs, the Portuguese

nobility ceased to exist as a class (*casta*) and remained debased for more than a century when it again appeared only as an order. The second is that Pombal is conceived as the darling of the bourgeoisie. Here the visconde is on weaker ground, for he exaggerates the vigor of the division of Portuguese society into three classes. Pombal's work destroyed the balance and aggrandized the bourgeoisie, which, says the visconde, remained the scourge of the people until 1917. No longer was paternalistic government for the people but not by the people possible. Henceforth Portugal was to be subjected to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, with agnosticism as religion, subjectivism as philosophy, secular oligarchy as politics, liberal individualism as economics, and expediency as policy.

Aside from questions of point of view and discounting inexact analogies with modern politics, a more serious defect is in the title. The book is not about Brazil during the rule of Pombal. It is a history of the economic and diplomatic policies that Pombal sought to carry out with Brazil paying the bill. Indeed, Brazil remains an assumed premise of the book just as its gold appeared to be an assumed premise of Pombal's thinking. The fault is surprising, for the book is based principally on research in Portuguese archives that were taken to Brazil by Prince Regent João and which have been lying almost neglected ever since in the Itamaratí and the Biblioteca Nacional in Rio de Janeiro. Indeed, Brazil appears most in the three documents conveniently printed at the back. One is an extract from a report of the year 1778 on the *quinto*. The second is an instruction by Pombal to the viceroy of Brazil, the Marquis of Lavradio, and the third is the report of this viceroy to his successor.

The value to readers outside Portugal of this otherwise solid work about Pombaline policies and practices must not be underestimated. Indeed, in its special field of Portuguese history the book is a distinguished contribution. For students of Brazilian history it is a mine of information as a reference work for the Portuguese background of the eighteenth century in Brazil.

ALEXANDER MARCHANT.

The Johns Hopkins University.

*Grandjean de Montigny e a evolução da arte brasileira.* By ADOLFO MORALES DE LOS RIOS FILHO. (Rio de Janeiro: Empresa A Noite, 1941. Pp. xv, 315.)

The Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional of the Ministry of Education has been performing a service of the utmost value not only in preserving colonial buildings but in stimulating



realistic scholarship in the history of Brazilian art. It has encouraged the search for documents and dates rather than legends and romance in the work of the present generation of art historians. This book is proof of the success of that attitude.

It is the first attempt at a full-length study of an important figure in 19th century Brazilian art. Auguste-Henri-Victor Grandjean de Montigny (1776-1850), a leader of the French artistic mission summoned by D. João VI in 1816, president of the Imperial Academy, distinguished architect, painter, and writer, is a figure worthy of the effort, for it was he who really introduced neo-classic architecture into Brazil.

The author, himself the son of a famous Brazilian architect, traces Grandjean's previous career at the court of the king of Westphalia, and the origins of his sober style in Rome. He brings important new information to light in regard to the founding and early history of the Academy and the personality of its teachers. He then describes briefly the various aspects of the architect's career in Brazil as official builder, private architect, town planner, and teacher. Since all but a very few of Grandjean's buildings have been destroyed, the rich collection of his drawings at the Escola Nacional de Belas Artes is carefully studied and many, representing his principal projects, are published. This study, together with numerous documents and accounts from old newspapers and finally the same sort of analysis the author has applied to Grandjean de Montigny's brilliant pupils, provides a mass of invaluable information on the architecture of the Brazilian imperial court.

Too much space, however, is given to general background statements. Of a total of 515 pages, some 139 are devoted to chapters on Brazilian painting, sculpture, literature, music and dances of the colonial and early 19th century periods. There is a confusing section on colonial furniture which falls into the common error of locating a Manueline manner in the late 17th century. These elements detract from the originality and distinction which the book derives from its biographical and critical material on Grandjean and his circle, nor are they effectively coördinated to deal with the evolution of Brazilian art mentioned in the title. One wishes that the author had dealt only with the distinguished architect and his influence.

The book has a large number of reasonably clear rotogravure illustrations, an exhaustive bibliography, well-arranged appendices and a useful index of personalities. It is an important contribution to the study of Latin-American art.

ROBERT C. SMITH.

Hispanic Foundation, Library of Congress.

*Historia da Civilização Brasileira: N.º. 2, Feijó e sua época.* By ALFREDO ELLIS JÚNIOR. (São Paulo, Brasil: Universidade de São Paulo [Boletins da Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras, XVI], 1940. Pp. 475.)

Professor Ellis, director da Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras of the University of São Paulo, occupies the chair of history of Brazilian civilization. As the second volume of a series in his field, he presents the life and times of the great Brazilian, Diogo Antônio Feijó. He seeks to recreate a great personality and at the same time to place him in his setting. In so doing he hopes to contribute to a fuller understanding of the development of Brazilian civilization.

With "Maurois, Hackett and others" as his model he lets his imagination dress the facts of history in a "diaphanous mantle of phantasy." In the absence of proof to the contrary he feels free thus to "render more pleasing the march of events." At the same time he is careful not to violate truth or distort the fundamental trends of Brazilian life.

The result is impressionistic. Feijó emerges on a broad canvas, painted with swift, colorful strokes. Dramatic intensity, emotional appeal, vivid phraseology carry the reader on. The apparatus of scholarship, except for rare occasions, is ignored. The Feijó of this book is Feijó as Professor Ellis sees him: the validity of interpretation rests on the reputation for careful, sound scholarship enjoyed by the author.

Two features of the book appealed particularly to this reviewer: he found of unusual value the long quotations from the speeches and letters of Feijó and his associates. Of equal interest is the insight which the volume gives into the vexing problem of why, unlike Hispanic America, Brazil hung together, why it too did not disintegrate into separate and independent sovereignties. The solution to the problem is not to be found in this book and yet Professor Ellis does depict graphically the struggle between the forces of federalism and centralization during the critical period of the thirties when the preservation of the union hung precariously in the balance.

With a somewhat more lengthy introduction the volume has been published with the title *Feijó e a primeira metade do século XIX* by the Companhia Editora Nacional. It is Volume 189 of the *Brasiliana* series of the extraordinarily valuable collection called *Biblioteca Pedagógica Brasileira*.

ALAN K. MANCHESTER.

Duke University.

*Um engenheiro francês no Brasil, com um prefácio do Professor Paul Arbousse-Bastide.* By GILBERTO FREYRE. [Coleção Documentos Brasileiros, Vol. 26.] (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1940. Pp. xxxiii, 218.)

Louis Léger Vauthier was a French engineer contracted by the governor of Pernambuco, Francisco do Rêgo Barros, to come to Recife in 1840 as the head of a technical mission similar to the famous mission of French artists summoned to Rio de Janeiro by D. João VI in 1816. During his stay of six years in the capital of Pernambuco, a visit overburdened with professional and personal troubles, Vauthier built the famous theater of Sta. Isabel, a building intimately associated with the subsequent political history of Brazil and one which is, like the more or less contemporary theaters of S. Luiz do Maranhão and Belém, still in use.

The engineer's diary, describing the first two years of his sojourn in Recife, was discovered in Paris a few years ago by the Brazilian writer Paulo Prado. It was published in Portuguese two years ago by the Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional<sup>1</sup> with an introductory note by Gilberto Freyre, the eminent Pernambucan student of the social history of the Northeast of Brazil. Convinced that the Vauthier diary is an important document for the study of Pernambucan history, Senhor Freyre has written the present volume around it. It is true that the engineer wrote in an animated fashion about the foreign colony at Recife in his day and drew an occasional enchanting glimpse of Brazilian society in town or at the country *engenhos* much as L. F. de Tollenare and Maria Graham had done some years before. Vauthier also chronicles his struggles with local politicians and the jealousy of his Brazilian colleagues toward the important post of administrator of public works to which the enthusiastic governor had elevated him. He expresses his deep concern throughout the diary with raising the economic, hygienic and social standards of the region by constructing a good system of communications in the state of Pernambuco. But whether the engineer's diary constitutes a really important historical document remains a debatable point.

Even more debatable is the question whether Senhor Freyre's comments deserve a separate volume. A large portion of his book is devoted to tracing the cultural contacts of Brazil with France prior to Vauthier's coming and in this the much studied subject of the mission of 1816 is again, though lightly, expounded. Freyre has ac-

<sup>1</sup> *Diário íntimo do engenheiro Vauthier, 1840-1846* (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico de Ministério da Educação e Saúde, 1940. Pp. 218. Illus.)



cumulated an impressive number of items from such early 19th century newspapers as the *Jornal do Comércio* and the *Diário de Pernambuco* to document his statement that an army of French "artists, engineers, teachers, midwives, cooks, confectioners, dressmakers, photographers, quacks, salesmen . . . political exiles" directed the social life of Brazilian coastal cities in the early 19th century. He has resuscitated the ghost of Johann Bloem, Vauthier's unhappy European predecessor in the Office of Public Works of Pernambuco. He mentions tantalizingly a French *menuisier* Julien Béranger and his son who were active in the churches and houses of Recife at this period, and touches on another mission of 105 European artisans who came to Pernambuco at the time. He summarizes the personal experiences of Vauthier as recounted in the diary and adds some spirited contemporary newspaper comments on his affairs and those of his patron Rêgo Barros. He includes the caustic statements of the literary pedagogue Padre Lopes Gama whose lament "tudo se quer à Franceza" sums up the distrust of the Luso-Brazilian diehards, the chief opponents of Vauthier's proposed reforms.

These skillfully compiled facts and observations, interesting though they are, seem scant justification for an independent book on Vauthier. They really belong among the notes of the Brazilian edition to the diary itself. More worthy of a separate volume is Freyre's analysis of the engineer's rôle in Pernambuco. But here he has neglected what seems an essential point—the accomplishment of Vauthier as an architect. The theater of Sta. Isabel is one of the outstanding 19th century buildings in Brazil, yet Freyre fails to describe it. There is no attempt to assess its artistic value or to gauge the extent of its influence throughout the region. Nor is there any concerted effort to describe and document Vauthier's other architectural enterprises. They are mentioned *en passant*, like the work of the Béranger family, without careful documentation. A mere chronological list would be of great value, at least for the historian of Brazilian art. Senhor Freyre, who laments in his introduction to *Um engenheiro francês* the difficulties of working in local Brazilian archives and the dangers of destruction to all documents there, must have discovered in them some supplementary information whose publication would greatly enrich his interpretative study. Nor is there any chronology or detailed history of the various projects for building roads and bridges so dear to Vauthier's heart while in Brazil. Finally, Freyre mentions but does not publish or discuss the remarkable series of letters on traditional Brazilian architecture which the French engineer composed for the

*Revue générale d'architecture* of Paris.<sup>2</sup> Both the descriptions and drawings, which have an admirable clarity of style and wealth of detail, are as much a *trouvaille* as the diary that S. P. H. A. N. translated and published. Had this text been incorporated along with the excellent notes Freyre used for this volume in a full-length study of Vauthier to accompany the translation of the diary, the resulting book would have been an outstanding accomplishment. As it is the Vauthier letters and drawings deserve immediate republication, either in the original, to preserve the vivid style of the author, or in Portuguese, by the enterprising Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional.

In his introduction to *Um engenheiro francês no Brasil*, printed in French, Monsieur Arbousse-Bastide contributes a well-written tribute to the work of a distinguished compatriot abroad, an interpretation of Freyre's work as a sociologist and some interesting observations on the theory that the concept of the Indian as a *bon sauvage* is the creation of French Protestantism and not of the Jesuits.

The book is illustrated with rare portrait photographs of the period, reproductions of Vauthier's manuscripts and pleasant old lithographs of Pernambuco and its memorable theater.

ROBERT C. SMITH.

Hispanic Foundation, Library of Congress.

*Dom Pedro Segundo.* By MAX FLEIUSS. [Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro.] (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1940. Pp. 196.)

This volume by the permanent secretary of the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro was published in honor of Portugal's great dual celebration which took place in 1940. But it contains little that has not already appeared in print, and does not pretend to do so, as Sr. Fleiuss explains in his brief preface. It consists of two general parts, the first being a survey of Dom Pedro's life, the second, a miscellaneous collection, including utterances of the emperor himself.

The first chapter by Sr. Fleiuss, "Primeiros tempos," is mostly background, giving well-known facts of Dom Pedro I's reign and his son's babyhood; but it opens with the stimulating comparison of Dom Pedro II to Moses, leader of the Israelites into the Promised Land. The next three chapters—"No Instituto Histórico," "As letras pátrias," and "Intelectuais"—describe the part played by the

<sup>2</sup> "Les maisons d'habitation au Brésil," *Revue générale d'architecture* (Paris), XI (1853), 118-131, 171-174, 246-256, 291-366.

second emperor as patron of the Institute, as promoter of the general intellectual development of his country, and as the friend of scholars and literati in many lands. "Perfil de D. Pedro II," the fifth and last chapter of the first part, is a brief summary of the other aspects of Dom Pedro's reign, with special emphasis on the political, and ends with his overthrow, exile, and death. Though this part of the volume does not contribute a well-balanced biography of the emperor, it makes available in print a brief, convenient account of his career.

The second part includes the following material: the emperor's comments written in Tito Franco de Almeida's book on Conselheiro Francisco José Furtado, and in the work of disputed authorship entitled *Datos e fatos relativos á Historia politica e financeira do Brasil*; his instructions to Conselheiro José Antônio Saraiva in 1865-66 and 1880-81; various contemporary press accounts relating to the downfall of the Brazilian empire; and, finally, a eulogy of Dom Pedro II delivered by Sr. Fleiuss at Petrópolis on December 5, 1939, the one hundred and fourteenth anniversary of his birth. The volume is illustrated by two portraits of the emperor.

MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS.

Goucher College.

*A invasão Paraguaia no Brasil (Documentação inédita).* By WALTER SPALDING. [Biblioteca Pedagógica Brasileira, série 5ª. Brasileira, vol. 185.] (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1940. Pp. xlix, 633. Illus., maps.)

This thick volume of more than six hundred pages contains over three hundred and fifty documents. The extreme range of dates is from November 26, 1865, to April 22, 1869, though the bulk of the documents falls between January and October of 1865. With the exception of one group of papers relating to Mato Grosso, nearly all are concerned with the invasion of Rio Grande do Sul, the initial victories of the Paraguayans, and the recovery of the Brazilians. As documentation for the Paraguayan War is not too well known to North American readers, it is desirable to specify what these documents are:

- I. Correspondence of the president of the province of São Pedro do Rio Grande do Sul, January 14-August 4, 1865.
- II. Correspondence of Lieutenant-General João Frederico Caldwell, January 23-November 3, 1865.
- III. Reports of the Commission of Army Engineers engaged in operations in the province of Rio Grande do Sul, October 2-26, 1865.
- IV. Correspondence of Brigadier David Canabarro, January 1-July 12, 1865.



- V. Correspondence of Field-Marshal Manuel Luiz Osório, May 30-December 15, 1865.
- VI. Miscellaneous documents, July 6-September 2, 1865.
- VII. Documents relating to the surrender of the town of Uruguaiana, August 19-September 18, 1865.
- VIII. Reports sent by the minister of war, March 8-December 13, 1865.
- IX. Documents relating to the Paraguayan campaign into Mato Grosso, November 26, 1864-April 22, 1869.

From the point of view of mechanics, a grave fault is the lack of specific mention of the places whence the documents are taken and of the completeness of or degree of selection among those published. The bibliography (which gives only sketchy outlines) refers to some unpublished documents belonging to the Arquivo Municipal de Pôrto Alegre, the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Rio Grande do Sul, the Museu e Arquivo Histórico do Rio Grande do Sul, and to the author himself. Presumably (with the exception of nearly all the documents of group IX above, previously published by Mário Barreto, and some others referred to on page 379, note 32) all the present documents come from these archives, but which documents come from which archives remains obscure. The want of clear reference is impressed on the reader by three references (pp. 117, note 88; 252, note 152; 505) to material which Dr. Spalding had not been able to find. Likewise, the organization of the documents in separate chronological groups in the order given above is not self-explanatory. Does such an organization reflect the way they were found in whatever archives or is it an arrangement imposed by the editor? Further, considering the multiplicity of details and the many persons mentioned, the absence of an index reduces ease of reference. Proofreading errors, too, are disproportionately and displeasingly numerous.

Dr. Spalding, in addition to giving scores of helpful geographical and biographical annotations, sketches a background for the documents in a fifty-page preface. He does not exploit the papers, but plainly states an interpretation (reiterated in several footnotes) of the rôles of the various nations in the war. The international politics of Brazil, he says on page xxxiii, was directed toward creating peace by removing the *caudillos* who had so perturbed the Plate region. War as an instrument of policy did not appeal to Brazil and the very unpreparedness of the Brazilian army in 1864 and 1865 indicates the absence of aggressive intentions.

As the interpretation of the Paraguayan War remains controversial, it is worth seeing on what points Dr. Spalding's documents offer conclusive evidence. The main points of difference are the purpose of

Brazilian international politics in the Plate and Paraná region; the offensive or defensive nature of the Paraguayan invasion; and, as a corollary, the military preparations by Brazil to enforce her diplomacy. Dr. Spalding's title might cover the entire controversy, but his documents apply in the main to only one aspect, the unpreparedness of the Brazilian army. Through the hundreds of letters and reports that follow, the complaint remains the same. The Brazilian troops were too few, their arms inadequate and insufficient, their horses out of condition, and their supplies uncertain. Further, the commanders had no notion of the size, nature, and equipment of the Paraguayan army, and, even after the first reports began to come in describing an enemy in thousands, they persisted in assuming the Paraguayan army to be small and made up of boys and old men. This much the documents demonstrate in detail.

The display of the unpreparedness of the Brazilian army is necessary to Dr. Spalding's interpretation of the pacific policy of Brazil, though it may be carried almost to excess. To balance it, careful attention must be given to the preparation of the Paraguayan army, for its superior equipment and numbers won the initial battles. López is traditionally described as a madman, but his madness must have been of a special sort to equip the Paraguayans with what Dr. Spalding considers the most modern weapons of the day.

There is enough material, aside from that which bears directly on the demonstration of the unreadiness of the Brazilians, to reconstruct other incidents of the war, as, for instance, the Brazilian strategy and the place in it of David Canabarro. The failure of the Brazilian defense appears as a direct result of underestimating the strength and determination of the enemy. As a consequence, Canabarro's Fabian tactics, while sound military science, were overcautious and unfitted to withstand a real army of more than ten thousand men. His being overwhelmed and driven back made him an obvious defendant for the court-martial that the government found necessary after the fall of Uruguaiana.

The present volume, raw material for history rather than history itself, belongs on the shelf next to *A Retirada da Laguna* and other works of value concerning the Paraguayan War.

ALEXANDER MARCHANT.

The Johns Hopkins University.

*História da república. Primeiro período, 1889-1902.* By JOSÉ MARIA BELLO. (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Civilização Brasileira, S. A., 1940. Pp. ix, 264.)

The advent of the republic in Brazil followed a pattern distinct from that in the other American republics. There was no long-drawn-out civil war and no bloodshed but simply a *coup d'état* which effected the change of regime in one day. The celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of this milestone in Brazilian history was the occasion for the preparation of a historical survey of the republic, its antecedents, its problems, its personalities and its achievements. Dr. José Maria Bello proposes to present such a study in three volumes under the title *História da república*. The first of these, now reviewed, covers the story through the administration of Campos Sales, the fourth to exercise the presidency. The work is not a mere catalogue of successive events but rather a synthetic treatise which essays to interpret the Brazilian scene.

Much attention is given to the background of the republic as it was developed under the empire. There is given the story of an empire with an emperor, Dom Pedro II, who did not prepare for its continuation. The two great problems, emancipation of the slaves and the military question, which play an important part in the change of regime, are fully considered. The intellectual background of republicanism, the influence of the religious and economic situation, the inexperience of the leaders of the provisional regime, together with a picture of Brazilian society at the end of the empire provide a setting for the events which occur during the first period of the republic. Excellent pen sketches delineating in detail the character, personality and ability of the principal protagonists of the era are given. Included among these leaders are Dom Pedro II, the first president, Deodoro da Fonseca, Rui Barbosa, Floriano Peixoto, Prudente de Moraes, and Manuel Ferraz de Campos Sales as well as numerous lesser personages. The struggle of the believers in federalism and centralism and in parliamentarism and presidentialism, the antagonism of the army and the navy ending in the revolt of Admiral Custódio José de Melo, the federalist revolt in Rio Grande do Sul, and the Canudos movement are outstanding episodes during the early years of the republic. The financial and economic difficulties of the time as well as the problems of governmental organization and administration of the new regime greatly influenced the course of events.

The author makes many comparisons with similar situations elsewhere, particularly France and the other South American republics. He also draws parallels between the course of Brazilian history dur-



ing the empire and developments of the period under study. The influence of the United States, France, and other American republics on the form of the constitution and the governmental organization are pointed out. The bearing of economic and social problems on the decisions of those in power is treated quite fully. Praise is given to the achievements of those who ruled and criticism is made of what are considered the errors they committed. The author recognizes the difficulty in appraising in fairness events of such recent date when so divergent opinions are held with respect to the acts and the actors, but it must be said that Dr. Bello has in a great measure achieved his task. He has given to the public an interesting, interpretative analysis of Brazilian political history, with a decided economic slant, during the first four administrations under the new form of government which were marked especially by internal disorders and by uncertainty in economic and financial policies.

ROSCOE R. HILL

Washington, D. C.

*A instrução e a república*. 1º vol. *Reformas Benjamin Constant (1890-1892)*. By PRIMITIVO MOACYR. [Ministério da Educação e Saúde, Instituto Nacional de Estudos Pedagógicos.] (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1941. Pp. 262. Paper.)

This is the eighth volume by Primitivo Moacyr on the history of education in Brazil. His preceding works on the subject are *A Instrução e o Imperio* (3 vols.), *A Instrução e as Províncias* (3 vols.), and *O Ensino no Congresso Nacional* (1 vol.). The publication under review is the first in a proposed four-volume study on education in the Brazilian republic.

To a reader not having access to Dr. Moacyr's previous works, the preliminary chapter of thirty-two pages should be especially valuable, since it is an epitome of the seven preceding volumes. It gives a few paragraphs to the colonial period, follows with data on the empire, and then, with separate classification for each, summarizes educational development in the provinces.

One of the most significant changes coming with the downfall of the empire was the creation, in 1890, of a ministry of public instruction with Benjamin Constant Botelho de Magalhães at its head. But, owing to his death, in 1891, and the political turmoil of the period, the potentialities of the office were not realized, though at the close of the empire general educational reform was probably needed. During the brief "republican" dictatorship of Deodoro da Fonseca there was some unsuccessful experimenting, and also obstructive friction among

educational leaders, owing at least partly to Benjamin Constant's desire to ride Positivist hobbies (pp. 71, 72, 102, 103, 111, 258). Some of the changes made were merely in name. Thus, the Colégio Pedro II became the Instituto Nacional and the Academia das Belas Artes became the Escola Nacional de Belas Artes. Various innovations were abandoned following the death of Constant, not only because of disillusionment and of removal of his influence but also owing to lack of funds for salaries and equipment and even for adequate school buildings.

The expense of primary schooling was unusually heavy from the fact that in general co-education was prohibited to boys over eight years of age. There were two exceptions—the schools at the Quinta da Boa Vista and the Fazenda de Santa Cruz, which had been founded and supported by the Emperor Dom Pedro II. In these, according to the report of the inspector, Dr. Ramiz Galvão—former tutor in the imperial family—there were special teachers of music and physical education, advantages not found in the other elementary institutions. In 1890, only 10,438 pupils were enrolled in the primary grades of the Federal District, although Rio de Janeiro itself was estimated to have a population of at least 400,000. There was no compulsory attendance law, and the problem of how to increase the number of pupils through stimulation of interest was a matter of much concern to the inspector, especially since money was lacking for the purchase of maps, globes, and other basic teaching apparatus, and also for physical training equipment. But an effort was made to introduce the study of agronomy in the rural schools near Rio through providing some of the teachers with elementary education in the subject. Another reform called for by Dr. Ramiz Galvão was in the textbooks, which he wished to have follow American models; and he favored the adaptation of Harper's readers and the Franklin reader to Brazilian use (pp. 65-69). To get further new ideas for primary education, three teachers—two men and a woman—were sent to Europe to study the school systems of various countries.

In the Federal District, primary schools were of two classes, the first being for children of seven to thirteen years; the second, for those from thirteen to fifteen. From the upper primary school boys were admitted by examination to the old imperial Ginásio Nacional, reformed, which provided seven years of liberal education. An attempt was made to give dormitory accommodations to students from the remoter parts of the District, as well as to have day students, but available facilities proved inadequate and unhygienic, and the plan was given up in 1891. The only choice permitted in the course of

study was between English and German. All of the boys were required to take Greek, Latin, and French, as well as various branches of science.

One educational institution which originated with the republic was the Pedagogium of Rio de Janeiro, a combination of library and museum which aimed to be the "centro activo e impulsor da educação nacional." Its equipment was extremely modest, but it published the *Revista Pedagógica*.

The Biblioteca Nacional was open from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. to persons over fourteen years of age, "decentemente vestidas." Except for reference material, easily replaceable works could be borrowed from the library, but no person could have more than three books out at a time, and no loan could extend beyond three months (p. 225). Apparently but few took advantage of this privilege. During 1890 the library had 13,725 readers, and 12,307 volumes were added to its shelves.

Dr. Moacyr's bibliography consists entirely of governmental acts or reports and he makes no attempt at analysis; but this reviewer was left with the distinct impression that, on the whole, little educational progress was made in Brazil during the first two years of the republic.

MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS.

Goucher College.

*Santos Dumont*. By GONDIN DA FONSECA. (Rio de Janeiro: Casa Editora Vecchi, 1940. Pp. 325. 18\$000, paper; 24\$000 bound.)

According to the author's own statement, this is the first life of Santos Dumont to appear in Brazil. Its only possible predecessor was a laudatory volume by Ofélia and Narbal Fontes, which was "limited to a recapitulation of the airman's books, in simple language, evidently intended for children." The present work is an "attempt at interpretation," a difficult task. He has, says the author, constructed a theory of the life of Santos Dumont from the study of many documents, of the known habits of his subject, and of Santos Dumont's own writings. On the basis of this theory, he succeeds quite ably in projecting the image of a courageous, moody, well-to-do, snobbish young sportsman, with a genius for aeronautical mechanics and with an inherited tendency to melancholia that ended in suicide. He has deliberately avoided any discussion of Santos Dumont's private life, probably from a discreet respect for the wishes of relatives and friends still living. The restriction is no loss to the biography, which is thus entirely of the aeronaut and the social lion.



Several familiar controversies are recognized either tacitly or directly. Santos Dumont's birthplace is given correctly as the farm, Cabangú, in Minas Gerais, not São Paulo. Gondin da Fonseca also denies that Santos Dumont ever became a naturalized French citizen.

But the most important controversy of all is the question of who was the first man to fly in a motor-driven, heavier-than-air craft, Santos Dumont or one of the Wright brothers. Here Gondin da Fonseca indignantly and vigorously defends the claims of his champion. His argument is this: that Santos Dumont's first such flight was made in October, 1906, at the Bagatelle field in Paris; that the first public flight made by the Wright brothers was in 1908; that, since there were no witnesses to the original experiments at Kitty Hawk, there is no proof that the Wright brothers really succeeded in flying in 1903. This insistence on the unsubstantiated claims of the North American airmen, the author declares, is the result of the reluctance of "Tio Sam" to admit that a South American could be the first man to fly. Whether or not one is inclined to agree with this criticism, there is a certain justification for this indignation. Santos Dumont's place in the development of aeronautics is at least equal in importance to that of the Wright brothers, and the studied indifference displayed in the popular accounts of early aeronautics to his experiments in heavier-than-air craft cannot be justified. Certainly his place in the development of lighter-than-air craft is much better known and much more freely admitted. Similar recognition should not be denied to the first experiments that resulted, in 1909, in his "demoiselle" or "grasshopper," the true ancestor of all modern light planes.

A feature of the biography that is of especial interest to students of Brazil and Brazilian affairs are the eleven chapters descriptive of Rio in 1903. The digression is perhaps too long for the artistic balance of the book, but this portrait, evidently in part supplied by the author's own youthful memories and in part from the recollections of his elder friends, is an attempt at rendering a phase of Carioca life as distinctive, if unknown outside Brazil, as the same period in Paris. It fails of the brilliance of Luiz Edmundo but serves successfully as a background for Santos Dumont's triumphal visit in that year, that marked the apex of his popularity.

ANYDA MARCHANT.

Law Library, Library of Congress.

*A política exterior do Brasil (1930-1940); Obra premiada no concurso de monografias instituido pelo D. I. P.* By JAYME DE BARROS. (Rio de Janeiro: Departamento de Imprensa e Propaganda, 1941. Pp. 367.)

This volume, presenting as it does the Vargas government's view of its own activities in the field of foreign policy in the 1930's, is not valuable for any documents it contains; these are few in number and are confined to excerpts from readily available sources. It is rather that the book itself is a document, throwing a direct light on how the Itamarati felt toward the Leticia incident, the Chaco War, the expanding spirit of Pan-Americanism and the developing Good Neighbor Policy, etc., in the face of those events which, since the early thirties, have shaken the modern world. It is, of course, an *ex parte* account; but therein, precisely, lies its value in this instance.

This essay is obviously intended to portray, and to laud, the accomplishments of the "New State" outside of Brazil, in the way of a "new Brazilian diplomacy," which according to the author has retrieved the old prestige of the foreign office, dating back to the first empire. This diplomacy is no longer "eminently political" as of old, but has been shaped by economic exigencies and problems and the modern struggle for world markets. Accordingly, the "*lirismo vazio da diplomacia de salão*" is a thing of the past, its place being taken by a "commercial diplomacy." Brazil's right-about-face in the matter of "most favored nation" pacts is explained and defended as a part of the struggle for "the economic independence of Brazil." Stress is also laid on administrative reforms, leading to the final consolidation, in 1938, of the diplomatic and consular corps.

Much of the material naturally has to do with South American, as well as Pan-American, relations. The point is made that Brazil has consistently intervened for the establishment and consolidation of peace on the continent and for a bloc of the American nations. Brazil, we are told, does not assume or tolerate "a position of protectorate or hegemony on the continent." In connection with Leticia, her efforts to protect her ancient boundary with Peru are depicted. An extended section is devoted to the Chaco War, with a review of the entire question and of the peace negotiations. Brazil's rôle in the peace is set forth, and it is emphasized that this marked a distinct break with the foreign policy of the 1920's.

A chapter on "Brazil and the Evolution of Pan-Americanism" is one of the most interesting in the book. Ronald de Carvalho's saying is quoted to the effect that Brazil, down to the end of the nineteenth century, was "a country blockaded by Spanish America." This is

ascribed to differences in language and regime, to Brazil's delay in abolishing slavery, and to the belief on the part of the Spanish-speaking countries that Brazil harbored imperialistic ambitions. (The empire is seen by the author as having been a providential means of preserving the unity of the nation.) We then have a detailed tracing of the origins and rise of Pan-Americanism (*cf.* Hélió Lôbo, *O Pan-americanismo e o Brasil* (São Paulo, 1939)), together with a consideration of the meaning and evolution of the Monroe Doctrine. The various Pan-American conferences in the 1930's—Montevideo, Buenos Aires, Lima, Panama, and Havana—are then taken up in separate chapters. The book closes with a discussion of Brazil's relations with Europe and other continents. The author reaches the conclusion that the "new diplomacy" is essentially based on an intimate collaboration of Brazil with all the American peoples.

SAMUEL PUTNAM.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

*Organização política e administrativa do Brasil.* By A. TAVARES DE LYRA. (São Paulo: Companhia Editoria Nacional, 1941. Pp. 286.)

This volume will be of the greatest interest to students of Brazilian constitutional history for the period up to the turn of the twentieth century. It is divided into five chapters of unequal length covering the following topics: colonial antecedents (34 pp.), political organization of the empire (32 pp.), administrative organization of the empire (56 pp.), political organization of the republic (112 pp.), and administrative organization of the republic (37 pp.).

The author, a distinguished Brazilian with a long and illustrious history of public service, whose firsthand acquaintance with public affairs dates from the beginnings of the republic, is peculiarly qualified to write with insight, understanding, and perspective of the topics with which he deals. It is natural, therefore, that more than half the book should deal with the period of which he was a contemporary and in which he was an active participant.

The reader in the United States will, nevertheless, be most interested in the treatment of the colonial period and of the empire, unless he is particularly concerned with grasping the immediate background for the developments of the present century in Brazil.

The material available for an insight into the colonial and empire periods is naturally much less extensive than for the more recent periods. Hence, the first portion of the book will, in general, prove of the most value. The fourth chapter, however, devoted to a three-parallel-column treatment of the proposal for the constitution of the



republic as prepared by the preliminary commission, the draft of the provisional government, both in the year 1890, and the document as adopted on February 24, 1891, is of interest to the more specialized student. In view of recent Brazilian constitutional history, the years since 1900 are, of course, the most important. It was not part of the task set Dr. Tavares by the Third National Congress of History in 1938 to extend his inquiry beyond 1900.

In general, the work, though containing much actual reproduction of such documentary material, including in the fifth chapter many of the most important decrees of the years 1891-1900, is not documented in the sense in which our historians use the term. The volume would have been increased in value for our readers had it contained more of the comments and side lights of the author, especially in view of his intimate knowledge of persons and events.

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HERMAN G. JAMES.

*Historia do direito nacional.* By JOSÉ IZIDORO MARTINS JÚNIOR. 2nd ed. (Pernambuco: Cooperativa Editora e de Cultura Intelectual, 1941. Pp. xi, 274. Paper.)

The history of law is a field that has been consistently slighted by Brazilian law writers. The student interested in the development of legal doctrines and in the antecedents of legislation in Brazil is forced, for the most part, to seek his information in a fragmentary and uncoördinated fashion: in introductory remarks to treatises on various specialized branches of law; in occasional articles in legal periodicals; in studies in political science. The publication of commemorative volumes has occasionally stimulated the production of special essays, like the contributions to the *Livro do Centenario*, published in 1928 by the Faculty of Law of Rio de Janeiro, and Clovis Bevilacqua's "L'évolution du droit civil du Brésil de 1869 à 1919," which appeared in *Transformations du droit*, a volume issued in Paris in 1923 by the Comparative Law Society in celebration of its fiftieth anniversary. A few writers, like Pedro Calmon, Pontes de Miranda, Galdino Siqueira, and César Tripoli, have provided some material. But no systematic treatment of the foundations of Brazilian law has challenged the pre-eminence of Martins' *Historia*.

Martins was appointed, in the early 1890's, to the chair of history of law in the Faculty of Law of Recife, where (as Professor Andrade Bezerra, who has contributed a foreword to this new edition, reminds us) his lectures became justly celebrated. The lack of material on the history of law was even greater then than now, and he undertook

the preparation of a systematic text for the use of his own students. He himself described his *Historia* as having the object of "filling the needs of the students of the official and private law schools of the republic in taking the course in the juridic sciences," as being "a reasonable middle term between a simple handbook for examinations and an elaborated study text."

The work is divided into two sections, the *Parte Geral*, covering the antecedents of Brazilian law—Roman and Germanic law, Canon law, Portuguese law; and the *Parte Especial*, covering what the author calls the embryogenic period, colonial Brazil from 1500-1822. The principal defect of the *Historia* becomes at once apparent from this description: modern, nineteenth-century Brazilian legal development, the development of law under the empire and the republic, is obviously excluded. And herein lies also a grave disappointment for the modern student. Although this is called a second edition, it is really nothing more than a new printing of a classic in Brazilian law texts, to rescue it, with other similar works long out of print, from oblivion. The value of the revival of Martins' text may go without saying. But a new edition that contained at least an outline of modern developments and an up-to-date bibliography would have immeasurably increased its practical use. Modern Brazilian law has been affected more profoundly by the social and political development of France, Germany, and Italy in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries than by the traditions inherited from the older Portuguese culture. This fact confines the reprinting of Martins' *Historia* chiefly to the sphere of antiquarian interest.

ANYDA MARCHANT.

Law Library, Library of Congress.

*O mundo que o Português criou. Aspectos das relações sociais e de cultura do Brasil com Portugal e as colônias portuguesas.* By GILBERTO FREYRE. Prefacio de Antônio Sérgio. [Coleção Documentos Brasileiros, Vol. 28.] (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria José Olympio Editora, 1940. Pp. 164.)

*Região e tradição.* By GILBERTO FREYRE. Prefacio de José Lins do Rego. Ilustrações de Cicero Dias. [Coleção Documentos Brasileiros, Vol. 29.] (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria José Olympio Editora, 1941. Pp. 264.)

The name of Gilberto Freyre looms large on the intellectual horizon of Latin America. Ever since the publication of his *Casa Grande & Senzala* (Rio de Janeiro, 1934) and *Sobrados e Mucambos* (São

Paulo, 1936), two of the most profound books on the evolution of Brazil that have yet appeared, Sr. Freyre has justly won for himself a position of enviable prestige among the intellectual leaders not only of his country but also of Spanish America. Even in this country, where he received his higher education and where he has, at various times, taught at Stanford, Michigan, and Columbia, he can count on a large number of admirers. It is indeed doubtful if very many serious students of Latin America among us are unacquainted either with Sr. Freyre personally or with his work.

In an admirable little study entitled *Gilberto Freyre, vida y obra, bibliografía, antología* (New York, 1939), Lewis Hanke remarks that it is almost possible "to say that there already exists a cult for Freyre in Brazil today. . . ." "Freyre's works," he adds, "have awakened the attention of all intellectuals, from President Getúlio Vargas to the promenaders along the Avenida Rio-Branco of Rio de Janeiro . . ." (p. 4). The secret of Sr. Freyre's success is not difficult to understand. By the sheer force of his own personality, by his unassailable reputation as the foremost social historian of Brazil, and by the character of his more recent publications, he has become a figure in Brazilian affairs whose voice does not pass unheeded.

The four lectures prepared by Sr. Freyre for delivery at the Universities of Coimbra, Lisbon, and Oporto, and at King's College, London ("Aspectos da influencia da mestiçagem sobre as relações sociaes e de cultura entre portugueses e luso-descendentes"; "Importancia dos estudos de historia social e cultural para as relações entre portugueses e luso-descendentes"; "Sugestões para a cooperação luso-brasileira no estudo de problemas de historia de arte culta e popular"; and "O Nordeste do Brasil e seus pontos de contacto com outras areas americanas especializadas na producção do açúcar"), were first published by the Brazilian Ministry of Education in 1938 under the title of *Conferencias na Europa*. Under the title of *O mundo que o Português criou*, they now appear in a second edition, enriched with a foreword by António Sérgio, the eminent Portuguese man of letters, by a valuable preface by the author (one of the most suggestive parts of the entire book), and by an enlarged appendix.

Sr. Sérgio devotes most of his essay to an analysis of the plasticity of the Portuguese people, which Gilberto Freyre has time and time again pointed out in his studies. Going beyond Sr. Freyre, who accepts the Portuguese quality as a fact and does not endeavor to explain it, António Sérgio attributes it, not to a racial predisposition, but rather to environmental, social, and economic reasons.

In his preface the author makes clear what he means by the "Por-



tuguese world." He defines it as a politically segmented area, embracing territories in Europe, Africa, Asia, and South America, which remains sentimentally and culturally unified because its component parts share the deep imprint of Portugal's civilizing genius. He feels that the plurality of cultures and the unbridled miscegenation of races, perhaps the two most salient features of Portuguese colonization, "give richness, force, and capacity for expansion not only to the Luso-Brazilian national whole, but also to the aggregate of national or regional cultures bearing the stamp of Portugal's culture, of which Brazil is the principal expression" (p. 32). Later he observes that the pluralistic concept of culture must not imply a threat to the basic Luso-Brazilian fabric of his own country, "because it would be ridiculous to suppose that Brazil can exist apart from her Portuguese origins, or that she can tolerate another culture (including another language) with the same rights as those enjoyed by the culture of Portugal . . ." (p. 37). This thought he has developed at greater length in his *Uma cultura ameaçada: a luso-brasileira* (Recife, 1940).

*Região e tradição* is a collection of essays, articles, and speeches—some of them printed for the first time—prepared or delivered by Sr. Freyre during the past twenty-two years. A number of them inevitably betray a certain exuberance of youth, but all of them, taken together, give us a fine insight into the author's intellectual development. The reader who is interested in understanding the underlying motives of Sr. Freyre's creative activities will find here much that he undoubtedly did not suspect.

The book begins with what is perhaps the most intimate account of Sr. Freyre that has been published: "Notas sobre Gilberto Freyre" by his close friend José Lins do Rêgo. This is followed by an "Introdução do autor" in which he presents the volume to the public, and, in several excellent paragraphs, dwells upon and defends the "regionalismo tradicionalista" with which he has always been prominently identified. The rest of the book is divided into a number of sections, several of which may be touched upon.

"Adeus ao collegio" is the title of an address given at the Colégio Americano Gilreath of Recife at the conclusion of the author's secondary school course in 1917. He was able, even at this early age, to enunciate a number of basic principles which he has since followed. To him knowledge is power only when it can be made practical. He decries the Brazilian tendency toward "hollow, useless, and vain verbiage," in the words of Manuel Bomfim (p. 50); he is opposed to the philosophy "of epithets and phrases" (p. 51). He urges his lis-

teners to be not "mere idealists or simple utilitarians, but practical idealists" (p. 52).

"Apologia pro generatione sua" was delivered in Paraíba do Norte in 1924 and subsequently appeared in pamphlet form (Paraíba, n.d.; out of print). He speaks of the confusion of his, the post-war, generation and then defines his concept of "culture as a living effort" (p. 64). He upbraids those who are convinced of the "eternal intellectual inferiority" of the New World (p. 66). He urges Americans to oppose the "cultural humility," which a complete subservience to Europe provokes, with a "creative pride" (p. 67). Brazil, he feels, should look to her origins to acquire a clear conception of her destiny and mission.

The last essay in the book is also worthy of some analysis. Speaking in Recife at a banquet given in his honor by a group of friends, he observes that north Brazil "is no longer a vassal, at least intellectually, of Rio or São Paulo, but a region like any other region of Brazil, and as creative as any other" (p. 258). He is convinced that Recife is endowed with a "*provincianismo* capable of initiative and action" (p. 263). Unlike Thoreau, Sr. Freyre does not love his native province because of its trees, brooks, and forests. On the contrary, he is much more vitally interested in "its people and its past, and in everything its people have done, and continue to do, that expresses an intense regional personality and, at the same time, a broad human sensibility . . ." (p. 264).

The two books under review add nothing significant to Sr. Freyre's reputation as a scholar, which he merits as the author of excellent studies on the rise and fall of the Brazilian patriarchal society, but they lucidly define his position on many of the problems which today disturb the Brazilian scene. Sr. Freyre can no longer be considered exclusively as a social historian. He has clearly gone beyond the field of his first endeavors; and in the later phase of his intellectual growth, he appears as one of the most penetrating critics of Brazilian civilization. This aspect of his career should not be overlooked. True to one of the cardinal tenets of his philosophy of life, he has endeavored to be a practical idealist. Perhaps his insistence on culture as a living effort will explain the deep influence which Sr. Freyre has exercised over the intellectual life of his country. Certainly his *Casa Grande & Senzala* and *Sobrados e Mucambos*, viewed from the vantage point of his subsequent writings, appear far less inconclusive than some of his earlier critics believed.

MANOEL S. CARDOZO.

The Catholic University of America.

*Brasil, país do futuro.* By STEFAN ZWEIG. Translated by Odilon Gallotti. (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Guanabara, Waissman Koogan Ltda, 1941. Pp. 304.)

*Brazil, land of the future.* By STEFAN ZWEIG. Translated by Andrew St. James. (New York: The Viking Press, 1941. Pp. 282. \$3.00.)

This review is concerned with two aspects of Zweig's book—its content and the form of its appearance in the United States. Little in the content of either the Rio or the New York edition need occupy readers of this *Review*. Zweig is a practiced and skillful popular writer who knows how to collect impressions of travel in a foreign land. He spent the few months before writing mainly in Rio, as he disarmingly tells the reader in his preface, and then glimpsed Minas, São Paulo, Baía and a few other points. Admittedly superficial as much of his book is, some of his firsthand descriptions are good and may take place in the long list of descriptions of Rio by foreign travelers. His awareness of his method of work is recommended to some recent and wordy travelers from the United States who have mistaken for philosophical absolutes their ephemeral impressions of Latin America gained during stop-overs in capital cities.

An historical chapter averages about one error to a page, for, though based on Brazilian works, it was taken from antiquated histories and perpetuates misconceptions. At best, the chapter reads like grand opera, full of noble men and beautiful women, and with all sentiments and motives in superlatives. Starting with such a background, it is understandable that Brazil should appear as a land of the future. Brazilians are among the first to recognize the possibilities of their land, but they begin to weary of having only a future. Brazil, like any other part of the earth's surface, also has a present.

The New York English translation presents thirty or more words in Spanish in place of their Portuguese equivalents. Zweig himself makes a point of the Portuguese background of Brazil and, indeed, the Latin-American boom has been under way long enough for knowledge of that linguistic and cultural difference to spread to even remote parts of the United States. Even so, and inexcusably, *terra* is *tierra*, *pequena* is *pequeña*, *prata* becomes *plata*, and (on page 145) Brazilians are represented as saying *Mañana, mañana!* Diacritical marks are almost all wanting, though in one case *pao vermelho* is carefully accented to read *pão vermelho*. Even quoted sentences are hashed (as in the brilliant examples of pi on pages 49 and 166) and translations are sometimes too interpretative (page 134, "There is no Brazilian race" for "Não ha um typo anthropologico Brasileiro").



Finally (page 30), a makeshift word (presumably "brazilianizing" in invented English), which in the Rio edition (page 39) is "*abrasileiramento*," appears as "*embrasilenamento*." As though this confusion of language and concept is not great enough, the tilde is left off; would this be only because ñ does not occur in Portuguese?

Zweig is aware that he knows little of Brazil. Brazilians, reading the Rio edition, would know how to be flattered by his historical chapter without taking it for true. The New York edition, on the other hand, is unfortunate, because it gives currency among unspecialized North American readers to a good deal of misinformation. Editors ought to take into account the accuracy and perspective of the books they publish, even though they publish them for the newly aroused and uncritical public interested in books about Latin America. The present New York edition is no service to Brazil, to good history, or good editing.

ALEXANDER MARCHANT.

The Johns Hopkins University.

*Epistolario de Nueva España, 1505-1818*. Collected by FRANCISCO DEL PASO Y TRONCOSO. [Biblioteca histórica mexicana de obras inéditas.] (México, D. F.: Antigua Librería Robredo, 1939-1940. 15 vols.)

Don Francisco del Paso y Troncoso went to Europe in 1892 and spent many years there dedicated to the task of assembling documents relating to the history of Mexico. Some of the more important he edited and published during his lifetime and others have appeared in print since. A list of these publications is found in the volume entitled *Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, Su Misión en Europa* (México, 1939, pp. 335-343). At his death he had in his possession a vast collection of transcripts, which, after no little difficulty, were secured by the Mexican government from Italy and Spain in 1928 and deposited in the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnografía. A complete description and listing of these materials is found in the work cited above.

The present series of fifteen volumes entitled *Epistolario de Nueva España, 1505-1818*, represents one phase of his activities. Although the title indicates the work to be a collection of letters, it must be observed that many of the documents are not letters. Except for the fact that they relate to Mexico, there is no central theme around which they center. Actually this group of documents represents the type of random selection which has been practiced all too frequently by investigators in European archives. Perhaps it was the result of

the lack of time and adequate guides when confronted with such a wealth of material as is found in Spanish archives relating to American colonial history.

The collection contains 905 entries. The highest number, however, is 896 because nine numbers are duplicated. Since the corresponding transcripts are missing from forty-three of the folders and in four instances the papers are reserved for another publication, the net total of different documents appearing in the fifteen volumes is 858. The basis for the selection is not apparent. Whether it was made entirely by Paso y Troncoso or whether he gave general instructions and permitted the paleographer José Joaquín Gómez Ramírez to copy what he saw fit cannot be determined now. It is most likely, however, that the latter is what happened. The story of the relations of these two men, as related in the correspondence of Paso y Troncoso, reveals some interesting phases of missions to Spanish archives during the early years of the present century.

The dates of the documents range from 1505 to 1818. However, the bulk of them are of the sixteenth century. There are only eleven for the seventeenth century, none for the eighteenth and three for the nineteenth. Those for a given year vary from one to thirty-eight. Eleven years are represented by twenty or more entries and twenty-two years have from ten to nineteen documents each. The years which have the most items are: 1554, 38 documents; 1551, 33; 1570, 31; 1552, 30; 1533, 25; and 1597, 25. In all ninety-two years between 1505 and 1818 appear in these volumes.

The source of the documents is likewise erratic. Only a small percentage of the vast number of *legajos* relating to Mexico in the various sections of the Archive of the Indies are represented in the collection. The number of *legajos* from the sections are as follows: Patronato, 14 *legajos*; Contratación, 7; Contaduría, 1; Audiencia de Santo Domingo, 1; Audiencia de México, 34; Audiencia de Lima, 1; Audiencia de Guadalajara, 1; Audiencia de Guatemala, 4; Audiencia de Panamá, 1; and Indiferente General, 8—a total of 72 *legajos*. When it is remembered that the section Audiencia de México comprises 3204 *legajos* and that of Guadalajara 591 *legajos* and that there are hundreds of *legajos* in the other sections dealing with Mexico, it can easily be understood what a small portion of the *legajos* containing important materials have contributed to this collection. Certainly Contaduría with 1953 *legajos* and Contratación with 5875 include more *legajos* with records relating to Mexico than those which were utilized for this work.

The concentration of the documents in a few *legajos* is likewise

noticeable. No less than 537 items are taken from ten *legajos*, viz: three from Patronato, six from the Audiencia de México and one from Indiferente General. But more remarkable still is the fact that 308 of the documents are in two *legajos*, i.e., 59-4-3 and 60-4-1, both of which are of the Audiencia of México. Finally volume 13 consists almost entirely of documents from *legajos* 60-4-16, Audiencia de México, and 145-7-9, Indiferente General, which occupy 192 and 183 pages respectively. The remaining sixteen pages of this volume are taken from four other *legajos*.

The number of documents in the several volumes varies from forty-four to eighty-nine and the number of years covered in each ranges from two to twenty-one. Finally it is noted that of the 3783 pages in the volumes, 1690 are devoted to eighty-four documents. That is, slightly less than ten per cent of the documents occupy over forty-four per cent of the space.

The statistical survey of the collection of documents reveals much regarding the methods employed in securing them. It is evident that they represent neither a fair cross section of the *legajos* nor the years and, consequently, as will be seen, they do not present a balanced choice of either the letters or the other papers which exist in the archive.

As indicated by the title, the documents in these volumes are mostly letters, although there are many other types. They deal with a wide range of subjects but few, if any, topics are completely covered. It may be said that, in general, they are a miscellaneous group illustrative of many interesting points in the course of the history of Mexico during its colonial period. Among them there are many royal orders and cédulas, letters and licenses. These include documents granting coats of arms, concessions and patents to cities and individuals, and instructions relating to colonial administration. There are letters, petitions, reports, information on services, recommendations, and complaints written by those who dwelt in Mexico. Many of these letters were addressed to the crown and the Council of the Indies by conquistadores, the Audiencia and its members, viceroys, archbishops and bishops, the royal officials, the *ayuntamientos* of Mexico and other cities, the *Cabildo Eclesiástico* of Mexico, Indians and private citizens. The subjects treated include religious affairs, settlements in the provinces, requests for rewards for services, *encomiendas*, treatment of the Indians, suggestions for a good government of the colonies, and many other topics relating to colonial administration and life.

There is a tendency for the documents to be grouped around individuals or given topics. Some examples of this are as follows:



Fifty-four letters and documents occupying 304 pages deal with the *visita* which Diego Ramírez made in 1551-1554; the *visita* of Lorenzo Lebrón de Quiñones in 1554-1558 accounts for fourteen documents with eighty-two pages; likewise fourteen documents relate to Miguel Díaz de Aux in 1510; ten documents pertain to Bernal Díaz del Castillo; and at least ten different documents, accounting for 152 pages, which contain *tasaciones de pueblos* are scattered through the volumes.

The indication of the content of the volumes is concluded with the following list of outstanding documents: a letter of the Audiencia regarding *residencias*, *encomiendas*, and other matters, 1531 (doc. 91, 30 pp.); a letter of Nuño de Guzmán reporting on the conquest of Nueva Galicia, and complaining against the audiencia and the Marqués del Valle, 1532 (doc. 109, 31 pp.); information regarding the poverty and need of the Villa de San Ildefonso, 1533 (doc. 133, 30 pp.); a letter of Jerónimo López treating of the *visita* of Tello de Sandoval and *encomiendas*, and requesting favors, 1545 (doc. 256, 29 pp.); information regarding a hurricane at Vera Cruz and San Juan de Ulúa, 1552 (docs. 358 and 362, 30 pp.); a letter of the archbishop on the necessity of having the Indians pay tithes, 1556 (doc. 441, 26 pp.); a report on the Indians *encomendados* in New Spain, 1560 (doc. 485, 41 pp.); proofs of Pedro de Fuentes in a suit with the *fiscal* regarding tributes of the Pueblo de Matatepeque, 1560 (doc. 491, 33 pp.); a statement of the income of the Marqués del Valle 1568-69 (doc. 627, 55 pp.); a report on the district and villages of the bishopric of the Tlaxcala, undated (doc. 821, 31 pp.); and a statement of the services of Nuño de Guzmán, undated (doc. 839, 28 pp.).

A few citations are faulty. The editor made no attempt to supply the new *legajo* numbers which were adopted by the Archive of the Indies in 1927. No notes are included. It would have been particularly helpful had there been notes to identify the places mentioned and to show the present-day spelling of the names. All the undated documents have been placed together in volumes XIV and XV. It might have contributed to greater usefulness had they been approximately dated from their content and placed in the proper chronological order in the other volumes.

Sixteenth-century Spanish handwriting is not easy to read, and it is known that documentary publications suffer greatly from the misreadings of the paleographer who did the transcribing; thus one wonders how excellent was the work of Sr. Gómez. It was possible to make a comparison of the lists of persons who accompanied Nuño de Guzmán in 1526 and Francisco de Montejo in 1527 as they were tran-

scribed in these volumes with the transcription in the *Catálogo de Pasajeros a Indias*, edited by the staff of the Archivo General de Indias (Madrid, 1930). This comparison reveals many variations in the reading by Gómez and by those who prepared this latter work. It may be added that some very obvious errors have been noted.

In spite of all that has been said the *Epistolario* contains a wealth of information on Mexican colonial history and interested scholars will be grateful for the appearance of the documents in published form. The Mexican government as the sponsor, Dr. Silvio Zavala as the editor and the Antigua Librería Robredo as the publisher are to be congratulated on making this material thus available.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

Washington, D. C.

## BOOK NOTICES

*Américo Vespucci e o nome da América.* By A. L. PEREIRA FERRAZ.

[Separata da *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro.*] (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1941. Pp. 26.)

Senhor Pereira Ferraz attempts in this brief study to prove that the name America had an origin other than that of the Florentine voyager, Amerigo Vespucci. Although this particular thesis is original, such efforts have been made before. Over fifty years ago Jules Marcou, a French geologist, wrote monographs in which he maintained that the word America originates in a Nicaraguan mountain range. The Marcou hypothesis was not accepted, nor were other fanciful notions put forward by Americanists, one of whom believed that the last three syllables of the continent's name—erica—represented an Indian adaptation of Erik, presumably the red-headed father of Leif the Lucky.

Pereira Ferraz has something better to offer than had his predecessors, although the present reviewer's opinion is that he will not upset the conventional view that Martin Waldseemüller baptized the New World with Amerigo's name. Briefly the case rests on the fact that during the Middle Ages Europe received from the Orient dyewoods, known variously by the names *Brasil*, *Verzino*, and *Almeri*. The latter was spelled in several different ways, one variant being *Amere*. An island marked *Brasil*, as is well known, frequently appeared on pre-Columbian maps of the Atlantic. After 1500, the name was soon transferred to the vast land discovered by Pedro Álvares Cabral. Since *Brasil* and *Amere* were words that could be used interchangeably, and since the country of Brazil was supposed at first to lie near the region originally producing the wood, and since it actually produced dyewood itself, an occasional substitution of the other name, *Amere*, would be only natural in early sixteenth-century maps. One such case may be that of Sebastian Münster, on whose map (1540) appears the legend *Insula Atlantica quam uocant Brasilii et Americam*.

This case has just enough in its favor to make it worth looking into further, but, as previously stated, it is unlikely to gain acceptance. The name Brazil first appeared on the Cantino map of 1502, and never, to this reviewer's knowledge, did anything suggestive of the word America make its appearance until 1507, when Waldseemüller



used it in his revision of the Ptolemy map to accompany the *Cosmographiae Introductio*, in which was made the famous suggestion to name the new land after Amerigo. It cannot be forgotten, furthermore, that several Spanish historians, immediately after Vespucci's time, believed that the land was named for him to the extent of getting indignant about it.

The work of Pereira Ferraz is well documented and displays undeniable learning, although the bibliography employed is not in all respects up to date. A brief sketch of Amerigo Vespucci's life, given in the opening pages, is inaccurate in some details. This has no bearing on the main thesis, but it does show lack of familiarity with the two most recent authorities to write on the subject, Alberto Magnaghi and Roberto Almagià.

CHARLES E. NOWELL.

*Diário da navegação de Pero Lopes de Sousa, 1530-1532.* Edited by COMANDANTE EUGÊNIO DE CASTRO. Preface by J. Capistrano de Abreu. 2nd edition. (Rio de Janeiro: Comissão Brasileira dos Centenários Portugueses. 1940. 2 vols., maps, charts, photographs.)

A welcome reprinting of the never abundant first edition of 1927, this time in honor of the Portuguese centenaries of 1940. Maps, charts, photographs and added documents make up the second volume.

A. M.

*A restauração e o império colonial português.* (Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1940. Pp. 545.)

This volume is one of the publications commemorating two centenaries of Portuguese history: the first, the origin of Portugal as an independent kingdom; the second, its emancipation from Spain. As a contribution to the latter anniversary a number of monographs have been brought together here, centering around the restoration in 1640 and giving particular prominence to the reaction in the Portuguese colonial empire. The collaborators have been given much latitude in choosing their fields. Most of them have gone back to the beginning of the period of Spanish domination when Portugal, weakened both financially and in man-power, was forced to join with Spain against France, England, and Holland. Hitherto it had always been the policy of the Portuguese kings to endeavor to retain the friendship of other nations whether Catholic or Protestant. With the country's resources depleted in Europe, the Portuguese fought valiantly to hold

their supremacy in the East against the English and the Dutch, but there matters went from bad to worse.

The monographs relating to the territory occupied in southern Africa are of interest. In Morocco only Ceuta, Tangier and Mazagão remained. Spain favored Portuguese efforts in Brazil, but was unable to prevent the establishment of Dutch settlements there. The national spirit of the Portuguese people remained as before and led to the restoration of the kingdom under John IV. It is this spirit which the writers endeavor to convey throughout the volume. With the varied presentations there is a lack of unity so that a knowledge of the national history is necessary for their proper coördination, though each has interest in itself. The high standing of the authors, among whom are Damião Peres, Pedro Calmon and others of distinction, is sufficient evidence of the value of this work.

WILLIAM B. GREENLEE.

*História de Portugal.* By ANTÓNIO G. MATTOSO. (Lisboa: Livraria Sá da Costa, Editora, 1939. 2 vols. Pp. 420, 445. 50 escudos.)

The author of this work, who is a lawyer and teacher, has written several texts for secondary schools on the history of his country. The present work is an enlarged edition of his *Compêndio de História de Portugal*, published in 1938, which was very well received by the Portuguese reading public. We have here indeed an excellent compendium of Portuguese history, detailed enough to make it quite a useful work for the student and the general reader, and yet not of such length as to render difficult the search for any desired information. Special attention has been given to early Portuguese history and to the general cultural and social evolution of the people. Both volumes, covering the history of Portugal to the very year of publication (1939), are profusely illustrated with reproductions of documents, monuments, paintings, charts, and maps, many of which are extremely interesting.

RAÚL D'EÇA.

*Inventário das armas e petrechos bélicos que os Holandêses deixaram em Pernambuco e dos prédios edificados ou reparados até 1654.* Edited by the Biblioteca Pública de Pernambuco. (Recife: Imprensa oficial, 1940. Separately paged, pp. 73, 202.)

The Pernambuco State Library proposes to document the history of Pernambuco with a series of publications drawn from its manuscript section and from public and private collections. According to the plan set up by Dr. José Maria C. de Albuquerque Melo, the Li-

brary will publish *sesmarias*, *alvarás*, reports and letters of officials, acts of the *câmaras*, and related material. In all likelihood, the series will resemble the *Documentos Históricos* issued by the National Library in Rio de Janeiro, except that it will deal principally with the history of Pernambuco.

The two pamphlets here presented in a single volume make a pleasing introduction to the new series. The first is an inventory, dated February 20, 1654, of the equipment of war given up by the Dutch when they left Pernambuco. It was published in 1839 and again in 1894 and in part in 1895. The second, likewise first published in 1839, is an inventory of more than five hundred houses, rented, built, or repaired by the Dutch or the Jews, which had been taken over by the Portuguese in 1654. Confronted with this supply of housing, the Portuguese treasury official proceeded to make an inventory with an eye to renting them until the crown disposed of them one way or another.

The value of good editions of such source material is obvious and has already been demonstrated by the *Documentos Históricos* themselves. Other students than those of the Dutch occupation will benefit from the present series. Information casually noted down about the occupation and character of the house renters makes good economic and social history, embellished with architectural details of the houses themselves. To the general reader such material probably means little, but to the student in search of detail it is always welcome, especially in the elegant dress of the present series.

ALEXANDER MARCHANT.

*D. Marcos Teixeira quinto bispo do Brasil.* By WANDERLEY PINHO. (Lisboa: Divisão de Publicações e Biblioteca, Agência Geral das Colónias, 1940. Pp. 70.)

Dom Marcos Teixeira occupied the episcopal see of Baía, the oldest in Brazil, when the Dutch captured the capital of Portuguese America in 1624. With the imprisonment of Diogo de Mendonça Furtado, the governor, Dom Marcos organized the active resistance against the invaders. It is principally because of this work, rather than because of his achievements as a prelate, that he is remembered in Brazilian history.

Sr. Pinho, a member of the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, has written the first biography of the bishop. The monograph, though short, throws much light on the many doubtful points connected with the life of Dom Marcos.

MANOEL S. CARDOZO.



*Crônica do Mosteiro de S. Bento de Olinda até 1763.* By FR. MIGUEL ARCANJO DA ANUNCIAÇÃO. Edited by OLYMPIO COSTA JÚNIOR with a bibliographical notice by AFONSO D'E. TAUNAY. (Pernambuco: Imprensa oficial, 1940. Pp. 147, portrait.)

*Os Heróis do Caaró e Pirapó.* By P. LUIZ GONZAGA JAEGER. (Pôrto Alegre: Livraria do Glôbo, 1940. Pp. 368, illus., maps.)

Churchmen in Brazil have more than once helped the writing of the history of Brazil. Some have written letters, accounts, or chronicles that have become the often-used and cherished source material of later students. Others by their lives spent in missionary work on the frontier have provided the events from which written history has been made.

The first type of churchly contribution is exemplified by the *Crônica* of Frei Miguel. Principally a catalogue of the prelates and abbots of the Monastery of São Bento in Olinda from 1592 to 1763, it relates almost exclusively to monastery affairs, with only an occasional reference to the outside world. Almost the entire record is given to describing the additions by each succeeding abbot to the buildings and lands of the order. Frei Miguel himself was the lesser-known brother of Frei Gaspar da Madre de Deus, with whom he shared, according to Taunay, much ease in writing. Unfortunately, the day-book style of the *Crônica* does not illustrate that ease. A word of praise is due the editor for his care in presenting the text from a much battered manuscript. He has kept the original abbreviations and antiquities of style, and, faced with frequent breaks in the text, has indicated lost words and lines with appropriate suspensives.

An example of the second type is a sympathetic biography of three pioneering Jesuits in Rio Grande do Sul by a Jesuit of today whose studies have long been concerned with the south of Brazil. The heroes were the fathers Roque Gonzales de Santa Cruz, Afonso Rodriguez and João del Castillo, the region was the Rio Ijuí, and the time between 1600 and 1628. The occasion for the writing of this book was the beatification of the three martyrs in Rome in 1934. Unfortunately, the work is somewhat too regional and restricted in interest to appeal to the general reader. From the point of view of methodology, however, one section is most interesting, if briefly treated. Father Jaeger first exhausted the written sources to decide where the three missionaries were killed. Then he went to the approximate area and excavated until he fixed the exact site by the finding of tools and household implements. He does not go into detail concerning his archaeology, and this is disappointing, for such a method of collecting

material for the comparatively recent history of America and Brazil is novel enough to warrant further exposition.

ALEXANDER MARCHANT.

*Vida e Época de José Maurício.* By ROSSINI TAVARES DE LIMA. (São Paulo: Livraria Élo, 1941. Pp. 127.)

This brief life of José Maurício makes no pretense of scholarly treatment. It achieves its results by the presentation of a series of impressionistic sketches depicting the crucial stages in Maurício's rise from impoverished obscurity to fame as the musical genius of colonial Brazil. A few light strokes paint in the background, validating the "Época" part of the title. A prologue by Professor Braulio Sánchez-Sáez pays tribute to the author as well as the book.

The volume is not a book of reference, nor does it wish to be considered in any sense a definitive biography of Maurício. But it can be read simply for the pleasure it gives: the diction is simple, direct, unaffected; the sketches are suggestive, pertinent; the dramatic quality is restrained. For one who has yet to discover who José Maurício was this little book will serve as a pleasing introduction.

ALAN K. MANCHESTER.

*Cartas de D. Pedro I a D. João VI. Relativas á independencia do Brasil.* Collected, copied, and annotated by AUGUSTO DE LIMA JÚNIOR. (Rio de Janeiro: Oficinas Gráficas do Jornal do Comércio, 1941. Pp. 79.)

In 1827 Eugène de Montglave published a French translation of thirty-two letters written by D. Pedro I to his father between June 8, 1821, and August 4, 1822, and printed by the Portuguese Côrtes for distribution restricted to its members. Despite the eulogistic tone of the introduction and the secondhand character of a translation this volume, with its appendix of proclamations, correspondence, orders, etc., has served as the standard reference. In 1916 Eugênio Egas prepared a Portuguese edition of thirty-three letters with reprints of the documents remitted by D. Pedro to his father. The two editions are not uniform. Students of the independence period would welcome a definitive edition of this correspondence.

Augusto de Lima Júnior has attempted to fill this need. He has spent time and money in the effort to collect the originals. Where the originals were not available he fell back on the text published by the Côrtes, and Montglave was useful. A comparison with the Egas edition reveals significant differences: the letter of July 17, 1821, though

similar in content in both editions varies in phraseology; Lima includes five letters not in Egas's edition and Egas two not in Lima's collection. The need for a definitive edition remains.

Lima's book deserves special mention for the portraits and fac-similes reproduced from his private collection.

ALAN K. MANCHESTER.

Duke University.

*Dez anos no Brasil.* By CARL SEIDLER. Translated and annotated by GENERAL BERTOLDO KLINGER. Preface and notes by COLONEL F. DE PAULA CIDADE. [Biblioteca Histórica Brasileira, Vol. 8.] (São Paulo: Livraria Martins, 1941. Pp. 320, illus. 30\$000.)

Another imposing volume in the interesting *Biblioteca Histórica Brasileira*. The German original of this valuable source for the reign of D. Pedro I is not easily available, but its place may be taken by this translation. The editing is good but the notes are few.

A. M.

*Amazon Throne: The Story of the Braganzas of Brazil.* By BERTITA HARDING. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1941. Pp. 353. Illus. \$3.50.)

This work by one who has portrayed the lives of other royal figures on the stage and platform and also in print, is divided into books, as follows: "Dom João VI, the Emigrant"; "Dom Pedro I, the Immigrant"; and "Dom Pedro II, the Native Son." It is not a serious historical study, and apparently does not pretend to be. Instead, it aims at a wide popular appeal through playing up the romantic and dramatic aspects of Braganza rule in Brazil. Thus, the volume begins with the arresting sentence, "The Queen of Portugal was mad. . . ." The queen referred to was Maria I, whose eccentricities hold the attention at once. Her son João was by no means an interesting personality, but his termagant wife Carlota Joaquina was decidedly theatrical and the author makes the most of that virago's immorality and of her defiant, generally unconventional, conduct. The amours of the stormy Dom Pedro I and his Marquesa de Santos are described with new details, for the author had access to the "banned" letters which passed between the two. These letters seem not to have been opened to Alberto Rangel for the writing of his *D. Pedro I e a Marquesa de Santos*. From this correspondence Mrs. Harding quotes extensively, some of the extracts being frankly obscene. The reign of Dom Pedro II, by far the longest reign of the three sovereigns considered, is given



less space than the other two. The second emperor and his consort, Dona Teresa Cristina, were circumspect in their public conduct, and their careers offer no reward for readers seeking the risqué. Mrs. Harding gives special attention to Dom Pedro II's marriage, his travels abroad, the abolition of Negro slavery, and his abdication and exile.

It is evident that the author read widely on her subject and is well grounded in it; and her style is lively and interesting. But in her effort to hold the reader's attention she at times exaggerates, and also draws unduly upon her imagination. Furthermore, despite the very impressive bibliography at the end of the volume, she handles her materials uncritically. Except in the case of some of the letters from which she quotes, she does not cite her authority for specific details, so the degree of inaccuracy would be hard to determine. One of her errors of fact is the statement that Dom Pedro II, when experimenting with Bell's telephone at the Philadelphia exposition, cried, "My God! It talks!" (p. 300). Catherine Mackenzie, in her biography of Bell (pp. 122-124), declares that widely circulated anecdote to be a myth. Mrs. Harding likewise errs in listing the libraries of Goucher College and of the Peabody Institute, Baltimore, among those "containing exhaustive materials on Brazil" (p. 335). The librarians of those institutions would be surprised to read *that!*

The book has some useful "Pointers on Portuguese Pronunciation," and a good analytical index, and is well illustrated, chiefly with portraits of the Braganzas. It is dedicated to Prince Pedro Gastão d'Orléans-Bragança, great-grandson of Dom Pedro II.

Despite its weaknesses, *Amazon Throne*, on the whole, pictures correctly the careers of the personages concerned. Therefore, in writing this book Bertita Harding performed a service to the general reader; for the volume will be read extensively while many a duller though more scholarly work on Brazil will idly gather dust on library shelves.

MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS.

*Estudos da História do Brasil.* By BASÍLIO DE MAGALHÃES. [Biblioteca Pedagógica Brasileira, série 5ª, Brasileira, Vol. 171.] (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1940. Pp. 298.)

Reprints of lectures and articles by a distinguished elder statesman among Brazilian historians, dealing principally with the struggle between Dom Pedro II and the Catholic Church; the *Guerra dos Farrapos*; the *Cabanagem* revolt, a federalist movement in Pernambuco

and Alagoas during the regency; and the republican press in Minas Gerais. The first essay is a summary of the political history of Brazil that should be useful to readers outside Brazil.

A. M.

*Atualidade de Euclides da Cunha.* By GILBERTO FREYRE. Conferência lida no Salão de Conferências da Biblioteca do Ministério das Relações Exteriores do Brasil, no dia 29 de outubro de 1940. (Rio de Janeiro: Edição da Casa do Estudante do Brasil, 1941. Pp. 59.)

For the historian, the chief interest in Freyre's lecture will lie in the discussion of those sources—Teodoro Sampaio, Arnaldo Pimenta da Cunha, Orville Derby, and others—which in good part provided the documentation and largely shaped the intellectual outlook of the author of *Os Sertões*. It is true that no new material is here brought to light. What Freyre does, rather, is to reassemble and to subject to fresh and stimulating interpretation the data furnished by such writers as Sampaio himself in the *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico da Baía* some twenty-three years ago (1919), and Carlos Chiacchio in his recent work, *Euclides da Cunha, aspectos singulares* (Baía, 1940); while on the personal side, with respect to the singular, anguish-ridden, and more than a little pathological character of Euclides da Cunha, use is made of such material as is presented by Eloy Pontes in *A Vida dramática de Euclides da Cunha* (Rio de Janeiro, 1938) and by Francisco Venâncio Filho in *Euclides da Cunha e seus amigos* (São Paulo, 1938), as well as in the various collections of correspondence. This is not to say, by any means, that the Freyre paper is lacking in originality. Quite the contrary; the author is possessed of the rare gift of scholarly popularization, and knows how to make the dry bones of research come alive for his auditors in new and striking points of view, being aided by a sparkling informal prose style of undoubted charm.

In the present instance Sr. Freyre is obviously concerned with the "intensely concentrated, tortured, and agrarian" *brasileirismo* of Euclides da Cunha, in the light of Brazil's contemporary problems as essentially a nation of mixed blood striving for national unity and national consciousness. While no narrow nationalist, the chronicler of the Canudos expedition, a "social engineer animated by a political ideal," is seen as preoccupied with "a *mística da unidade brasileira*." There is, however, an obstacle here, in Euclides da Cunha's "ethnocentric exaggerations," his pessimism with regard to the social-economic capacity of mixed races, his reliance (inspired by his sources)

upon a rigid biologic determinism, which led to the racial fatalism expressed in a well-known passage of *Os Sertões*. Freyre believes that Euclides da Cunha was the "victim of scientific preconceptions with the appearance of anthropologic truths" such as were common at the turn of the century (*e.g.*, in a writer like Sylvio Romero). The author of *Os Sertões*, none the less, did not carry his theory of racial superiority to any mystical extremes, but on the other hand was "animado do culto da personalidade humana," and, our lecturer is certain, would not have been a "totalitarian," had he lived today. The Canudos expedition itself is viewed as "a violent clash of cultures," between the littoral and the backlands.

The volume also contains an interesting discussion of Euclides da Cunha's attitude toward the Society of Jesus and his "reconciliation" with the Jesuits—it would be better to say, with Jesuit history in Brazil—through his admiration for the lyric figure of Anchieta.

SAMUEL PUTNAM.

*A Experiência Roosevelt e a Revolução Brasileira.* By DANTON JOBIM. (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1940. Pp. 171.)

This is a description of the Vargas administration for Americans and of the Roosevelt administration for Brazilians. Sr. Jobim sees Vargas and Roosevelt as "providential" men who have come at a critical point in national life to bring long-needed reforms. That Vargas came in by revolution and maintains himself by force, while Roosevelt rules democratically, is beside the point. Both men are striving for the same thing, the welfare of their peoples.

BAILEY W. DIFFIE.

*Limites do Brasil. Descrição geográfica da linha divisória. Memória apresentada ao IX Congresso Brasileiro de Geografia, reunido na cidade de Florianópolis, em Setembro de 1940.* By J. S. DA FONSECA HERMES and MURILLO DE MIRANDA BASTO. (Rio de Janeiro: Gráfica Laemmert Ltda., 1940. Pp. 135, illus.)

This book is short, but its value in its technical field is great. The authors follow the Brazilian boundary north from Uruguay to French Guiana. In the sections devoted to each of the countries that border Brazil, they present first a geographical description, which is, with occasional variations, the description of the boundary line in treaties and protocols. Next they give (where such information is needed) a list of the islands in boundary rivers. A section on demarcation gives the dates between which the boundary was surveyed and monumented,



a few details concerning the boundary commissions, and mention of the present state of demarcation. It is interesting to notice in this respect that at the time of writing the Paraguayan and Venezuelan lines had not yet been completely marked, and that the boundary with French Guiana had not been marked at all. The description of each part of the entire boundary is closed with a list of the geographical coördinates of the principal points of the line, and with notes concerning the length of the various sections.

ALEXANDER MARCHANT.

*Conferências.* By HOMERO PIRES, AUGUSTO FREDERICO SCHMIDT, ELMANO CARDIM, and FORTUNAT STROWSKI. Publicações da Casa de Ruy Barbosa. (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa nacional, 1941. Pp. 119. 24 milréis.)

This is a collection of four lectures delivered in the *Casa de Ruy Barbosa* during 1938, 1939, and 1940 by Homero Pires, Augusto Frederico Schmidt, Elmano Cardim, and Fortunat Strowski. Its publication was undertaken by the Ministry of Public Education and Health of Brazil, presumably as a contribution to the bio-bibliography of the great jurist and writer to whom Brazilian culture owes so much.

The *Casa de Ruy Barbosa*, in Rio de Janeiro, houses the vast library accumulated during many years of intelligent purchasing by Ruy Barbosa, one of the most prodigious intellects that Brazil has ever known. During his busy days as a jurist, statesman, newspaperman, and scholar, he had time to gather one of the best private libraries, if not the best, in the whole country. His interests were all-inclusive and among the 35,000 volumes he acquired during his lifetime there are many rare and valuable editions of extreme interest to scholars in general. Worthy of notice is especially his *Brasiliana*, including such rare works as the *Vida de Anchieta*, by Simão de Vasconcelos, published in 1672; the *Constituições do Arcebispado da Baía*, published in 1720; the *Crônica da Companhia*, also by Simão de Vasconcelos, and many others of interest to the historian.

Of the four lectures published in the volume herein reviewed, the first one, by Homero Pires, "*Ruy Barbosa e os livros*," is the most extensive and informative. It contains a general description of the library, how it was gathered, and many interesting details on the personality of Ruy Barbosa. The other lectures deal with Ruy Barbosa as a defender of man, Ruy Barbosa as a newspaperman of the republic, and French books in the Ruy Barbosa Library.

The reviewer urges all foreign scholars who visit Brazil to devote some time to investigate this valuable library preserved for posterity in the *Casa de Ruy Barbosa*.

R. D'EÇA.

*Reações na literatura Brasileira*. By SÍLVIO JÚLIO. (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria H. Antunes—J. O. Antunes & Cia., 1938. Pp. 258.)

Although primarily a study on literary currents in Brazil, this book by a former professor of literature in the Liceu Nilo Peçanha, in Niterói, has a good deal of material of interest to the historian who specializes in Latin America. A considerable portion of the book is devoted to tracing the origins or inspiration of some of the outstanding writers of Brazil.

The author's remarks on the parallel cultural development of Brazil and Spanish-speaking America are indeed very apt, although one has the feeling that he was carried away by his enthusiasm for his subject matter and ignored certain distinctions which characterized Portuguese colonization in the New World. Among these, the essentially agricultural initial character of Brazil which eventually produced the land-owning aristocracy that ruled Brazil during the empire must be included. The author's point of view is, nevertheless, explained, even if not justified, by the almost complete disregard of the importance of the Spanish culture in America among intellectuals in Brazil until a few years ago. Fortunately, the situation has changed a good deal during the last few years.

R. D'EÇA.

*Estudos da lingua nacional*. By ARTHUR NEIVA. [Biblioteca Pedagógica Brasileira, série 5ª, Brasiliana, Vol. 178.] (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1940. Pp. xxxviii, 370.)

Though a study in linguistics that is devoted almost entirely to the Tupí, this book is useful to the historian who is curious about place-names and the names given to objects which were not familiar to the Portuguese. The bulk of the work appeared in the *Jornal do Comércio* between 1936 and 1938.

A. M.

*Ensaíos de geographia lingüística*. By COMANDANTE EUGÊNIO DE CASTRO. [Biblioteca Pedagógica Brasileira, série 5ª, Brasiliana, Vol. 201.] (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1941. Pp. 349.)

This is a second augmented edition of the author's *Geographia Lingüística e Cultura Brasileira* and is concerned principally with the

reflection in language of the geographical and social peculiarities of various regions of Brazil. Book I is somewhat the exception, for it is a study of Scandinavian and Norman origins in Luso-Brazilian nautical terminology. Recommended reading for students of language as a handmaid to history.

A. M.

*Assimilação e populações marginais no Brasil. Estudo sociológico dos imigrantes germânicos e seus descendentes.* By EMÍLIO WILLEMS. [Biblioteca Pedagógica Brasileira, série 5<sup>a</sup>, Brasiliana, Vol. 186.] (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1940. Pp. xix, 343.)

The author defines assimilation as social absorption and distinguishes it from biological amalgamation or adaptation. With this distinction in mind, he analyzes the German immigrants, who were largely peasant in origin and little equipped intellectually to anticipate the conditions of the land to which they had gone. Unfortunately, statistics on the Brazilian population of Germanic origin do not throw much light on the problem of assimilation. The author gives considerable thought to the factors tending to change a people whose culture is marginal to that of the rest of Brazil into an ethnic minority and throws out helpful hints on the methodology of his study.

A. M.

*Escritores da Colômbia e Venezuela.* By SÍLVIO JÚLIO. (Rio de Janeiro: Federação das Academias de Letras do Brasil, 1942. Pp. 210.)

The author of this book, a former professor of literature in the Liceu Nilo Peçanha, in Niterói, travelled in Colombia, Venezuela, and Panama during 1938 and represented the Brazilian government at the fourth centennial of the foundation of Bogotá. But his interest in the culture of Spanish America dates back twenty years, according to his own declaration (p. 150), and he must, therefore, be counted among the few Brazilian scholars who have devoted themselves actively to a study of the literature and general culture of the other Latin-American nations.

To judge by the book herein reviewed, the author has indeed a profound acquaintance with the literary production of Colombia and Venezuela of which he gives, in a very polished style, a well-balanced summary. It is the hope of the present reviewer that his book may become as popular in Brazil as it merits, inspiring other scholars there to take up the same subject.

RAÚL D'EÇA.



*O patrono dos emigrantes, B. João Baptista Machado.* By LUÍS DA SILVA RIBEIRO. (Angra, Azores: Editora Andrade, 1940. Pp. 18.)

In this sketch of the life of Father Machado, the patron saint of the emigrants, the author has endeavored to portray him in his human rather than in his ecclesiastical aspect. He begins with a description of the charming little town of Angra where he was born at the end of the sixteenth century, and carries the story of his life to Japan where he died in 1617. Machado never visited America and the value of his life in its history lies in his influence on the lives of the Portuguese who have immigrated there.

WILLIAM B. GREENLEE.

*O emigrante açoreano.* By LUIZ RIBEIRO. (Ponta Delgada, Azores: Tipografia "Correio dos Açôres," 1940. Pp. 29.)

A modest tribute to the eighth centenary of Portuguese nationality, celebrated in 1940, this little pamphlet reproduces two articles on Azorean immigration first published in the Ponta Delgada daily, *Correio dos Açôres*. The Azorean is one of the most adventurous of Portuguese, and his contributions to Portuguese overseas expansion have been legion. It is very largely due to Azorean enterprise that Rio Grande do Sul and Pará were developed. Azoreans figure prominently in Taques' *Paulista* genealogies. There is, indeed, almost no area of Brazil that has not felt the presence of the ubiquitous *ilhéu*. All of the Brazilian Brum, Dutra, Pamplona, Paím, Madruga, and Goulart families, to cite but a few of the more easily recognizable names, are of Azorean descent. Naturally, a branch of the Portuguese people that has given a host of distinguished men to Brazil and Portugal is eminently worthy of study. Dr. Ribeiro should be encouraged to deepen his researches and write a much-needed book on the islands and their people. Sr. Dante de Laytano, of the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico of Pôrto Alegre, is now working on the Azoreans in Rio Grande do Sul. Others might well devote their attention to the achievements of Azoreans elsewhere in Brazil, in Africa, the Orient, Hawaii, California, Massachusetts, the West Indies, Bermuda, and New Zealand.

MANOEL S. CARDOZO.

*Grandes Novelistas de la América Hispana.* By ARTURO TORRES-RÍOSEO. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1941. Pp. 280. \$3.00.)

The first volume of *Grandes Novelistas de la América Hispana* is a study of six novelists whose works are based on life in rural

Spanish America. Both selection and critical conclusions are rather frankly independent of such critical literature as existed previously. A procedure of this sort ordinarily involves the danger of limitation of point of view as well as the advantages of freshness and freedom from the influence of conventional error.

In the present case, however, that procedure is justified by the author's evident capacity as a critic. There is no evidence of literary dogmatism or of loyalties to any school or movement. There is, on the other hand, ample evidence of a comprehension of, and sensitivity to, the values of fiction in its best form, whatever the movement of which it is an expression. Each author is permitted to determine within reasonable limits the "legal tender" of his own art. Thus, as a critic, Dr. Torres proceeds with the same liberty of action that he grants to the novelists whose works he discusses. But of those novelists and of himself he demands sound values. In the matter of critical analysis the work is of unusual merit. The careful treatment of such factors as integration of character, inevitability of plot movement in a given milieu, economy of language and action, creation as opposed to photographic description, the use and abuse of dialect, and the harmony of the whole from both structural and aesthetic standpoints is judicious, thorough, and readable. What seems to be in Dr. Torres a predilection for distinctively American factors is not akin to the patriotic myopia that has sometimes distorted literary criticism in this field. It is the result of a conviction that the novel demands such penetration as would be impossible in the case of an American writer dealing with material not a part of himself.

The work was evidently not meant to be so comprehensive as the title implies, for otherwise the exclusion of several novelists who come immediately to mind would be hard to justify; but it is a discerning and sound treatment of the writers selected by the author. Both because of its high level of critical criteria and of the paucity of works in this field, it stands out as an important contribution.

J. LLOYD READ.

*La leyenda.* By ALBERTO FRANCO. (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Cooperación Universitaria, 1940. Pp. 39.)

The reviewer finished the last page of this booklet with two very strong impressions: first, that folklore is having a vigorous growth in Argentina; and second, that up until 1940 that country's scholarly ties bound her much more closely to Europe than to the United States. Insofar as folklore study is concerned, it is, however, probable that the recent folklore missionary expedition of R. S. Boggs and others

may make Argentina more conscious of the work that is being done here.

Franco cites a two-and-a-half page bibliography of items consulted in studying world legends, yet the names of Stith Thompson, Alexander H. Krappe, and R. S. Boggs are conspicuously missing. Nevertheless, *La leyenda* is a convenient small volume to have at hand for its summary of the various schools of thought that have dealt lavishly with the theories of the origin of the world's legends. Alberto Franco writes with the clarity of a Frenchman—a feat in Spanish.

FRANCIS HAYES.

*El Caso de Belice a la luz de la Historia y el Derecho Internacional. La condición resolutoria tácita por incumplimiento en los Tratados Internacionales.* By GUSTAVO SANTISO GÁLVEZ. (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1941. Pp. 346.)

*Belice.* By JOAQUÍN HÜBBE. Edited with foreword by CARLOS R. MENÉNDEZ. (Mérida, Yucatán: Tipografía Yucateca, 1940. Pp. iii, 164. Paper.)

*Belice.* By FRANCISCO ASTURIAS. [Publicaciones de la Revista de la Facultad de Ciencias Jurídicas y Sociales.] (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1941. Pp. 177.)

*Continuación del Libro Blanco. Controversia entre Guatemala y La Gran Bretaña, relativa a la Convención de 1859, sobre Asuntos territoriales. Cuestión de Belice.* Primera serie, IX. Los Estados Unidos y las ocupaciones Británicas en Centroamérica; Segunda serie, I. Actuación del poder ejecutivo durante el último año constitucional. By the Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores. (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1941. Pp. 441-496; 1-52.)

The agitation of the long-standing controversy between Guatemala and Great Britain over the rights to British Honduras or Belize has resulted, during recent years, in numerous publications setting forth particularly the position of Guatemala. The items noted here are some of the latest additions to the list.

The volume by Dr. Santiso Gálvez was presented as a dissertation for the law degree in the Faculty of Law and Social Science of the National University of Mexico and has been reedited and published by the Guatemalan government. This consideration of the international question between Great Britain and Guatemala, according to the writer of the preface, "summarizes the historical antecedents, sets forth and comments on the opinions which the most noted authorities



on international law have given with reference to the matter, and presents a private juridical study, very worthily and intelligently reasoned, in which the justice of the position of Guatemala is well proven." The first part gives a readable historical survey from the settlement of Belize down to the present. The second part considers the legal aspects of the case, discussing in detail the various treaties and conventions and concluding with a chapter on the lapse (*caducidad*) of the boundary treaty of 1859 because of Great Britain's failure to comply with its provisions.

In 1880 and 1881 Joaquín Hübbe published a series of thirty-eight articles in *El Eco del Comercio* of Mérida which presented much detailed and interesting information regarding British Honduras. The author also discussed the history of the region and maintained the thesis that Mexico possesses an inalienable right to the territory which he considered had been usurped by Great Britain. These articles have been reprinted under the title *Belice* with a brief introductory note by Carlos R. Menéndez.

The pamphlet by Dr. Asturias is a general historical survey of the Belize question. The last chapter gives a *résumé* of the action of the administration of General Jorge Ubico, from 1933 to 1941, in seeking a solution of the problem. Three maps in color and a bibliography are included.

The first of the two parts of the *Continuación del Libro Blanco* of the Guatemalan government is a historical study of the Belize controversy by Dr. Luis Anderson, the outstanding international lawyer of Costa Rica. The second contains official documents including a brief presidential message, correspondence of 1940 on the subject, and two notes of the Foreign Office of February 10 and May 7, 1941, in which it is stated that in view of the European war situation the diplomatic discussion of the Belize question will be postponed "until the British government is in a position to study and consider the justice of the rights of Guatemala."

ROSCOE R. HILL.

## NOTES AND COMMENT

### A BOLÍVAR DOCUMENT FOR THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

On August 21, 1819, Simón Bolívar, president of the republic and captain-general of the armies of Venezuela and New Granada wrote to the governor of Neiva as follows: "It is imperative that you shall send me as soon as possible one hundred quintals of sulphur for the manufacture of powder, which article is very necessary." Dr. Guillermo Hernández de Alba, professor of history of art in the University of Bogotá and member of the Academy of History, who recently visited the United States on the invitation of the Department of State in connection with its cultural relations program, felt that he could best show his appreciation by presenting the original of this Bolívar letter to the Library of Congress. The ceremony of presentation and acceptance took place in the office of the librarian before a small group of friends of the Library on May 28, 1942. Dr. Hernández de Alba in his remarks pointed out the unique place held by the Library of Congress because of its great collection of books and manuscripts, and its activity in developing and furthering cultural relations between the American republics. He indicated the necessity of united American action and pointed to the fact that the present needs of the American countries are much like those which confronted Bolívar more than a century ago. He concluded by presenting the manuscript neatly framed in gilt and blue. In response Dr. Luther Evans, the acting librarian, spoke as follows:

It gives me great pleasure on behalf of the Library of Congress to accept your generous gift. This notable document signed by the Liberator, Simón Bolívar, in 1819 immediately after his victory at Boyacá seems to me significant because of the striking parallel it draws with the situation that today confronts the United Nations. At that time Bolívar was determined to expel all foreign influence that threatened the independence of Spanish America just as today there is an equal determination to maintain the sovereignty of the nations of the New World against all external aggression.

The Library of Congress takes special satisfaction in this important gift. Our collections of Hispanic-American documents, though rich in the material of certain periods, are unfortunately not fully representative of others. The great Harkness collection of sixteenth-century manuscripts splendidly illustrates the era of the Spanish conquests in Mexico and Peru. A good selection of printed broadsides and the manuscript proceedings of the trial of the Mexican patriot Hidalgo represent the period of the struggle for independence. But we have only three

documents bearing the signature of the leaders of the revolution in South America; one of Sucre; one of Páez; one of Bolívar. The present document signed by the Liberator is therefore an especially welcome addition to our collection in this field.

This autograph of Simón Bolívar will be carefully preserved in the Library of Congress beside so many documents of our own independence—the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the official and personal papers of the revolutionary leaders, and the correspondence of the majority of the presidents of this republic.

In the name of the Librarian of Congress, Mr. Archibald MacLeish, who unfortunately could not be present to accept this document himself, I wish to express to you the gratitude of the Library of Congress and to assure you of our deep interest in the history, in the cultural institutions, and in the intellectual life of the Republic of Colombia. I am confident that your gift will be an incentive for even closer contacts between the Library and the archives, libraries, academies and universities of your country, contacts which we are eager to strengthen and develop by every means within our power.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

## PROBLEMS OF BIBLIOGRAPHY IN MEXICO

Mexico is one of the American nations which boast a vast bibliographical wealth. Much of it is in order, and from Eguiara y Eguren to Juan B. Iguíniz the road is long and the harvest has been bountiful. Mexico, however, has problems perhaps identical with those of other American countries.

Joaquín García Icazbalceta has left us the history of books for the sixteenth century, Vicente de P. Andrade for the seventeenth, Nicolás León for the eighteenth, and José Toribio Medina the most nearly complete for all three centuries. Now, in tribute to them, it is noted as criticism that an author "has not cited Medina," that "he does not mention García Icazbalceta." They were the masters, the veritable pioneers of the order which bibliography places at the service of knowledge. They made definite the work which was outlined in Beristain de Souza and which has its origins in Antonio de León Pinelo. But Mexican bibliography has many problems which press for solution. At last it is recognized that without more bibliographical work the scholar may find himself unable to lay out plans for research. We have had, since Vasconcelos directed the Secretariat of Education, a Section of Bibliography; a magnificent bulletin of bibliography, *El libro y el pueblo*; and, later, an initial Congress of Bibliography; and a series of *Monografías bibliográficas mexicanas*, which Genaro Estrada infused with his most ardent enthusiasm, leaving an example and clearing the way for others.



What are these problems? They can be reduced to six:

I. Due attention has not been accorded those isolated works which are a part of the total bibliographical work and in which works the authors, although not bibliographers, have had the good judgment to bring together unique data. Fortunately, the task of listing them will soon be dynamically initiated by the appearance of the work of Dr. C. K. Jones, noted bibliographer of the Library of Congress in Washington, entitled *Bibliography of Hispanic-American Bibliography*.

II. There is no uniformity in bibliographical technique. The series edited by Estrada, to which I allude above, suffers from this defect. This shortcoming can likewise be seen in the second series, which, published by DAPP (Departamento Autónomo de Publicidad y Propaganda), has unfortunately been discontinued due to the disappearance of that institution.

III. In all Mexico there is not a library, not even the Biblioteca Nacional, which is the wealthiest in material, which has given preferential attention to the cataloguing of primarily Mexican material with a view to having a panorama of printed works.

IV. Much bibliographical material of Mexico is found outside the country. It would be necessary to entrust commissions or agents in other countries and especially in the United States with the work of taking note of these scattered treasures. A survey would have to begin in the library of the University of Texas, proceed in those of California (Berkeley and Stanford), and close its cycle of investigation in those of the East (Brown, Princeton, Columbia, Duke, etc.).

V. The state has failed, up to the present, to take cognizance of the book as an item of national wealth, not so much as of intrinsic value of quotable price, but as an ambassador of the imponderable. And this failure of the state exists despite the fact that a book just off the press can spread propaganda of this most noble medium commercially. The state, which can be preoccupied with such economic matters as the petroleum situation, still does not grasp the idea that the appearance of the publication notice of a Mexican book anticipates and stimulates business between reader and bookseller. In contrast, Argentina leads the way, for, from having been one of the American nations slow to develop the press, she has forged ahead in encouraging interest in the world of books.

VI. A great project, the *Bibliografía mexicana del siglo XIX*, remains to be completed, but it will require the establishment of a bibliographical institute or the assumption of responsibility by one of the learned societies. The nineteenth century was most confused

but it was also most productive of books. At the same time, it was the century that was most interested in its history and in the re-discovery of history (Humboldt, Kingsborough, Brasseur de Bourbourg, Madame Calderón de la Barca, the archaeologists, the economists). It was also rich in political literature in which are heard America and Europe, the great toilers of *la mexicanidad* (García Icazbalceta, Ramírez, Orozco y Berra, Paso y Troncoso), and men of letters and travellers fascinated by Mexico.

For this project, factors may be noted which look to and favor total realization. There already exist bibliographies of the novel (Monterde); of biography (Iguíniz); of mining (Aguilar y Santillán); of the scientific press (Annita M. Ker); and of several of the states.

Attention should also be drawn to the achievements of the *Boletín bibliográfico de antropología americana*, the *Revista de historia de América*, the *Revista mexicana de sociología*, and the *Letras de México*. Their stimulating work has been continued by such publications as THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, published at Duke University; and the *Anuario bibliográfico mexicano*, published by the Secretariat of Foreign Relations, thanks to the enterprise of Felipe Teixidor. We may be confident that these clear examples will be followed by the *Boletín bibliográfico de geografía americana*, which the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History intends to vitalize; and that there will be brought to a happy culmination the project recently resolved on by the fourth assembly of the Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association: the publication of a bulletin announcing the new bibliographical material of this hemisphere.

Much has been done in the field of literary bibliography, but there is still no regard for scientific bibliography, although by his work on mining Aguilar y Santillán has blazed the trail. Spanish America does not yet know what it possesses in intellectual and technical history. Arturo Arnáiz y Freg, acquainting us with everything relating to the scholar Andrés Manuel del Río, discoverer of vanadium, has turned our attention to one of the most engaging approaches to the study of Mexico. And we shall soon see what the Instituto de Biología can offer when it decides to enlarge the botanical bibliography of Maximino Martínez.

In the Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas of the Universidad Nacional, Manuel Toussaint is but now bringing a cedula of Mexican art to a conclusion. There is also an institute for the compilation of juridical bibliography. That such work goes slowly is true, but

the day is not distant when the state, and many who consider themselves friends of culture, may realize that bibliography is not merely the making of simple lists of books, but that it has something of the function of a creative field and of revision of standards of value. Thanks to the acoustics of its world, it is sensitive to the slightest tremors and disturbances of our times, and, in spite of embodying rigid treatment of the past, it possesses the vitality of the present.

RAFAEL HELIODORO VALLE.

### CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS

The fourth centenary of Orellana's voyage down the Amazon River was widely observed in Peru. In Lima, on February 12, a solemn *Te Deum* was chanted in the cathedral and a special concert given at the Municipal Theater. D. María Orellana y Pizarro, Marquesa de La Conquista, lineal descendant of Francisco de Orellana and Francisco Pizarro, attended the official ceremonies as a guest of honor. In Iquitos, on the same day, a commemorative obelisk was unveiled. The anniversary has also been celebrated in Brazil, though with less brilliance. Thus far the most important festivities have been those of Belém, Pará.

In honor of the city's fourth centenary, which falls this year, the fifth *Congreso Mexicano de Historia* met in Guadalajara on February 1-8.

The fourth centenary of the founding of Mérida, capital of Yucatán, fell on January 6; but the reputed unwillingness of local authorities to admit that the city was first established by the Spaniards made a proper celebration of the event impossible.

The four-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of California by the Portuguese explorer in the service of Spain, João Rodrigues Cabrilho, also falls this year. According to present plans, a statue of the navigator, donated by the Portuguese government, will be unveiled in San Diego.

The literary competition in commemoration of the first centenary of the death of O'Higgins, which the Sociedad Bolivariana de Chile of Valparaíso is sponsoring, will close on September 30. The contest is open to citizens of the American nations. Manuscripts must be submitted in triplicate, and may be written in Spanish, English, Portuguese, or French. The judges for the competition include Emilio Muñoz Mena, Roberto Hernández, Carlos Bowen, José María Raposo, Darío Riospatrón, Francisco Le Dantec, Augusto D'Halmar,



Juan A. Calvo, and Victoriano Lillo. All contributions, and requests for additional information, should be addressed to the Sociedad Bolivariana de Chile, Casilla 57-V, Valparaíso.

The sesquicentennial of the execution of Tiradentes, the principal figure in the *Inconfidência Mineira* of 1789, occurs this year. Plans have been launched to honor the memory of the great precursor of Brazilian independence.

### ACTIVITIES OF SOCIETIES AND GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Organized on a preliminary basis by several members of the International Statistical Institute from this hemisphere who met in Washington during the sessions of the Eighth American Scientific Congress in 1940, the Inter-American Statistical Institute has already secured the adherence of the governments of the Dominican Republic, Bolivia, Mexico, Costa Rica, and the United States. Plans are now under way to enlarge the official membership to include all of the Latin-American countries. M. A. Teixeira de Freitas, of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, and Halbert L. Dunn, chief of the Division of Vital Statistics, Bureau of the Census, are the president and secretary-general, respectively, of the Institute's executive committee. Offices are maintained in the Census Bureau Building, Washington, D. C.

The Institute of Ibero-American Studies, of The Catholic University of America, sponsored a series of lectures during the months of January and February on various aspects of Latin-American civilization. Edmundo O'Gorman, of the Mexican National Archives, spoke on "The Philosophical Background of Inter-American Collaboration"; Robert C. Smith, of the Hispanic Foundation, on "What is Latin-American Art?"; Rev. David Rubio, of the University's Department of Romance Languages, on "Some Cultural Traditions of Spanish America"; Lewis Hanke, of the Hispanic Foundation, on "The Americanization of America, or a Continent in Search of Itself"; Gilbert Chase, of the Library of Congress, on "Main Currents in Latin-American Music"; and John T. Reid, of Duke University, on "The Development of *Americanismo* in Spanish-American Literature."

The manifold activities of the Division of Cultural Relations, Department of State, during the fiscal year 1941-1942 are detailed in *The Program of the Department of State in Cultural Relations* (De-

partment of State Publication 1702, Washington, 1942). The record of achievement, particularly in the Latin-American field, is an impressive one; and the chief of the Division, Mr. Charles Thompson, and his assistants are to be congratulated on their work.

A "Founders' Statement," signed by José Gaos, Eduardo García Maynez, Ignacio González Guzmán, H. M. Lydenberg, Manuel Martínez Báez, Lucio Mendieta y Núñez, Paul V. Murray, Edmundo O'Gorman, Samuel Ramos, Luis Recasens Siches, Alfonso Reyes, C. H. Stevens, Edward G. Trueblood, Eduardo Villaseñor, and J. M. Zilboorg, has recently been issued by the Mexican-American Institute of Cultural Relations of Mexico City (Reforma 34). The Institute, which also maintains the Benjamin Franklin Library in the Mexican capital, is designed to foster cultural relations among the various nations of the New World, but particularly between Mexico and the United States.

The seventh annual report of the archivist of the United States for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1941, has just been printed. "Persons working in the search rooms of the National Archives included residents of all but four of the States, of Alaska, and of Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Mexico." Research on a number of Latin-American projects was carried out during the year.

The Instituto do Ceará, of Fortaleza, Brazil, has recently announced the election of officers for the 1942-1943 biennial period. The new board of directors is composed of the following: Th. Pompeu Sobrinho, president; Álvaro Gurgel de Alencar and Abner Carneiro Leão de Vasconcelos, vice-presidents; M. A. de Andrade Furtado, treasurer; Hugo Victor Guimarães e Silva, Antônio Martins de Aguiar e Silva, and Plácido Aderaldo Castello, secretaries; Father Misael Gomes da Silva and Dolor Uchôa Barreira, orators; and Raimundo Girão, librarian.

The establishment of the Brazilian Society of Anthropology and Ethnology, with headquarters at the Faculty of Philosophy, Sciences, and Letters of the University of Rio de Janeiro, is an indication of the growing interest of Brazilians in the social sciences. At a meeting of charter members, the following officers were elected: Professor Leitão da Cunha, honorary president; Professor Artur Ramos, president; and Marina de Vasconcelos, secretary-general. The board of directors of the organization includes other eminent Brazilian scholars.

The Academia de la Historia de Cuba has recently announced the subjects and rules for the contest for the Rodolfo de Rodríguez de

Armas prize in the years 1943-1946 inclusive. The general theme is the history of the Ten Years' War in Cuba. During the four years four successive periods of the war are to be treated as follows: (1) "Desde su origen hasta la Asamblea de Guáimaro, inclusive"; (2) "Desde la constitución del Gobierno Republicano hasta la destitución de Céspedes, inclusive"; (3) "Desde la presidencia de Salvador Cisneros y Betancourt hasta la elección de Tomás Estrada Palma"; and (4) "Desde la presidencia de Tomás Estrada Palma hasta la disolución del gobierno presidido por Manuel de Jesús Calvar." The manuscripts must be in Spanish and should consist of four hundred typewritten pages. Contributions are to be submitted to the Academy under a pseudonym before the tenth of April of each year. A prize of \$400 will be awarded each year and the work receiving it will be published by the Academy.

#### ITEMS OF ACADEMIC INTEREST

Pablo Max Ynsfrán, Paraguayan educator, journalist, and diplomat, served as visiting lecturer of government and Romance languages at the University of Texas during the second semester of the academic year 1941-1942. Under the auspices of the University's Institute of Latin-American Studies, Dr. Ynsfrán gave courses on the civilization of southern South America and on inter-Latin-American relations.

In recognition of the studies in Latin-American history directed by Professor Samuel Flagg Bemis, the title of his professorship has been changed to Farnum professor of diplomatic history and inter-American relations.

The report of the Social Science Research Council for the year 1940-1941 has just been made public. In the field of Latin-American studies, grants were made to the following scholars: M. Margaret Ball, Wellesley College, "for training in international relations with special reference to the foreign policies of South American republics"; David G. Basile, Columbia University, "for field training in selected industrial and agricultural areas of Ecuador"; William Baker Bristol, "for field training through a study of social and economic conditions influencing certain aspects of international relations of the southern South American republics"; Manoel S. Cardozo, The Catholic University of America, "for a history of mining in colonial Brazil"; John Tate Lanning, Duke University, "for a history of the political agencies of medicine in the Spanish Colonies (1535-1821)"; and Robert Sidney Smith, Duke University, "for a



study of Spanish-American trade in the eighteenth century, with particular reference to merchant guilds (*consulados*)."

Among the eighty-two John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Fellowships recently awarded to American and Canadian scholars for 1942-1943, two have been granted for work in Latin America. James Allen Clifford Grant, of the University of California at Los Angeles, will prepare a comparative study of procedures to enforce constitutional guarantees, while Robert Sidney Smith, of Duke University, will write on the guild merchant in colonial Mexico (1594-1826).

Guillermo Hernández de Alba, professor of the history of fine arts in Bogotá, recently visited the United States as a guest of the Department of State.

Silvio Zavala and his wife, María Castelo, of Mexico, gave a series of lectures at Princeton and Columbia Universities under the sponsorship of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Dean Henry Grattan Doyle, of George Washington University, has established a Latin-American training center for government officials. The new center, with headquarters in the Library of Congress, is sponsored by the Office of the Coördinator of Inter-American Affairs and the American Council of Learned Societies.

Aubrey Bell, the well-known English authority on Portuguese literature and history, has left his home in Portugal and is now living in Canada. He may be reached at 127 Heath Street, East, Toronto.

In connection with the program of cultural relations directed by the Department of State, Dr. Salvador Mendieta, the rector of the newly established Central University of Nicaragua, was the guest of the United States in April of this year. Dr. Mendieta has long been an ardent advocate of Central American union. His two-volume *Alrededor del Problema Unionista Centroamericana* (Barcelona, 1934) gives some account of his ideas and activities in this cause. Of greater importance, however, is his *La Enfermedad de Centro-América* (Barcelona, 1934, 3 vols.), which is an extensive and excellent sociological study of the five republics. This is one of the outstanding works of its class relating to Spanish America.

Dr. Arthur S. Aiton, of the University of Michigan, served as visiting professor at the summer session of the University of California, Berkeley.

### SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL PROJECTS

Under the auspices of the Institute of International Education, winter "summer schools" for Latin-Americans were opened this year

at the University of Pennsylvania (December 4, 1941, to January 26, 1942), University of North Carolina (January 17 to February 28), and Columbia University (February 2 to March 13). The Institute and the coöperating institutions must be commended for their courage in carrying out plans which the war seriously threatened to disrupt. Despite the difficulties encountered, thirty-one students were accommodated at Pennsylvania, eleven at North Carolina, and forty-two at Columbia. The first such "summer school" for Latin Americans was held last year at Chapel Hill.

A summer institute for intensive training in Portuguese, sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies, was held at the University of Vermont from June 15 to August 22. A similar institute, also sponsored by the Council, was held at the University of Wyoming during the summer of 1941.

The preliminary mimeographed edition of the *Investigations in progress in the United States in the field of Latin-American humanistic and social science studies* is ready for distribution by the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress. The volume was compiled by Alexander Marchant and edited by Charmion Shelby.

### CONSERVATION OF SCHOLARLY JOURNALS

The American Library Association created this last year the Committee on Aid to Libraries in War Areas, headed by John R. Russell, the librarian of the University of Rochester. The Committee is faced with numerous serious problems and hopes that American scholars and scientists will be of considerable aid in the solution of one of these problems.

One of the most difficult tasks in library reconstruction after the first World War was that of completing foreign institutional sets of American scholarly, scientific, and technical periodicals. The attempt to avoid a duplication of that situation is now the concern of the Committee.

Many sets of journals will be broken by the financial inability of the institutions to renew subscriptions. As far as possible they will be completed from a stock of periodicals being purchased by the Committee. Many more will have been broken through mail difficulties and loss of shipments, while still other sets will have disappeared in the destruction of libraries. The size of the eventual demand is impossible to estimate, but requests received by the Committee already give evidence that it will be enormous.

With an imminent paper shortage attempts are being made to collect old periodicals for pulp. Fearing this possible reduction in the already limited supply of scholarly and scientific journals, the Committee hopes to enlist the coöperation of subscribers to this journal in preventing the sacrifice of this type of material to the pulp demand. It is scarcely necessary to mention the appreciation of foreign institutions and scholars for this activity.

Questions concerning the project or concerning the value of particular periodicals to the project should be directed to Wayne M. Hartwell, executive assistant to the Committee on Aid to Libraries in War Areas, Rush Rhees Library, University of Rochester, Rochester, New York.

### NEW PERIODICALS

Plans are being launched for the publication some time this year of the first number of a new Brazilian review designed primarily for the "aproveitamento daquelas energias provincianas que são para o Brasil valores básicos e não simples pitoresco etnográfico ou puro enfeite dos museus: turbantes ou balangandans de baianas, ponchos de gaúchos, chapéus de couro de vaqueiros do Nordeste, canoas de caboclos do Pará e do Amazonas." The magazine hopes to be able to count on the coöperation not only of Brazilian writers but also of foreign intellectuals and artists, especially from the Americas, Portugal, and Spain. Among those interested in the venture is Gilberto Freyre, whose well-grounded reputation and passion for a healthy *provincianismo* will no doubt contribute much to its success.

The first number of *Atlântida*, edited in Lisbon by João de Barros and the late Pedro Bordalo Pinheiro, has recently appeared. The magazine is designed to foster Luso-Brazilian relations.

One of the most promising of Brazilian literary magazines is *Planalto*, whose first number appeared in May, 1941. Published twice a month in São Paulo under the editorship of Dr. Orígenes Lessa (Rua Xavier de Toledo, 121, 9º), it is the only Brazilian review to evince a real interest in Spanish America. The continued success of *Planalto* ought to go far in dissipating the indifference which has long characterized the attitude of the Brazilian intellectual classes toward Spanish America.

The Comisión Mexicana de Cooperación Intelectual, first organized in 1931 under the auspices of the Mexican Secretariat of Public Education, has recently issued the first number of its new bulletin,



*La Cultura en México* (January-February, 1942). The mimeographed periodical is a mine of information on Mexican intellectual life.

Although founded in 1919, and in existence since then, the Academia Mexicana de la Historia was never financially able to publish a bulletin. The first number of a proposed quarterly, *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia Correspondiente de la Real de Madrid* (January-March, 1942) will come, therefore, as a pleasant surprise to the many friends of the organization, who wish it continued prosperity. Articles are contributed by Francisco Fernández del Castillo ("Fray Antonio de Remesal"), Ignacio de Villar Villamil ("Un conquistador y antiguo regidor desconocido [Juan Velázquez de León]"), and Juan B. Iguíniz ("El sagrario metropolitano de Guadalajara. Reseña histórica").

Edited by Pedro de Lemos, director of the Stanford University Museum and Art Gallery, the April, 1942, issue of *School Arts* (The Davis Press, Worcester, Mass.) is devoted exclusively to a popular survey of Spanish-American art. The number is printed bilingually, in English and in Spanish, and is lavishly illustrated.

The third number of the University of Miami's *Hispanic-American Studies* appeared in March with articles by Juan Ramón Jiménez ("Estética y ética estética"), Donald F. Fogelquist ("The Figure of Pancho Villa in the *Corridos* of the Mexican Revolution"), James J. Carney, Jr. ("The Legal Theory of Forced Labor in the Spanish Colonies"), Juan Clemente Zamora ("The Case of Cuba: A Program for Immediate Action"), and Robert E. McNicoll ("El Pan-Hispanismo, el Panamericanismo y la cooperación entre los países hispanoamericanos como tres filosofías de desarrollo internacional"). Although the first two issues of the series were devoted to lectures given before the University's Hispanic-American Institute, the current one is comprised of studies especially written for it by present or past members of the faculty.

The first number of *The Inter-American Monthly*, edited and published in Washington by John I. B. McCulloch, appeared in May with articles by Lewis Hanke, Kathleen Romoli, Nelson Rockefeller, David H. Popper, and Hubert Herring. The new periodical, "designed to increase the awakening popular interest in problems of the Western Hemisphere," will concern itself with political, economic, artistic, and literary aspects of Latin-American life and inter-American relationships.

The monthly review *Cultura Política*, which began publication in March, 1941, is under the direction of Almir de Andrade. The business and editorial offices are in the Palácio Tiradentes, 4º andar, Rua

da Misericórdia, Rio de Janeiro. Single copies cost 5\$000. Typeface and make-up are both good. The review is a government publication, devoted to exposition of the ideas of the *Estado Novo*. It contains a section called a panorama of government activity that is valuable to students of administration, and also prints extracts from the political thought of the chief of the state. Each number has about six regular sections. The first discusses social and political problems and includes historical articles. The section on labor and national economy includes mention of legislation and the interpretation of codes, as well as general articles. Historical documents, often hitherto unpublished, usually come next. This section is recommended to the searcher for published sources. A section on social, intellectual and artistic development stresses the evolution of these phases of Brazilian life from early times to the present. Of special interest is a monthly list of new books published in Brazil. Many of the articles in all sections are long and run through several numbers. The list of contributors includes many prominent names and the literary quality, despite a certain uniformity in point of view, is generally good. The review is particularly useful in bringing together in one convenient place a great deal of news of what the government is doing. At the moment, much space is being given the *Marcha para o oeste* and the position of Brazil in the present war.

### MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

The Companhia Editora Nacional of São Paulo has issued a special catalogue commemorating the appearance of the two-hundredth volume of its *Brasiliana* series. This is a record of a single decade of achievement (1931-1941), but it reflects a great deal of credit both on the publishing house and on the editor, Dr. Fernando Azevedo. As students of Brazil are well aware, the *Brasiliana* is an indispensable source of information on innumerable aspects of Brazilian history.

The new building of the São Paulo Municipal Library, whose modernistic tower looms impressively on the city's skyline, was inaugurated last January. The magnificent structure represents an achievement which bespeaks highly of the administration of the Library's present director, Dr. Rubens Borba de Moraes. Under his able leadership, the institution bids fair to become one of the best in all of Brazil.

The death of Dr. Epitácio Pessoa, ex-president of Brazil (1919-1922) occurred in Petrópolis on February 13.



Under the joint sponsorship of the Brazilian and the United States governments, the eminent Brazilian artist, Cândido Portinari, was brought to Washington to execute a series of murals for the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress. The murals depict Brazilian scenes of common interest to the Americas. The panels are arranged according to the following general subjects: the discovery, pioneering, teaching the Indians, and the operation of the gold fields. The paintings are powerful in execution and rich in color.

Dr. Ernesto Vilhena de Moraes, director of the Arquivo Nacional of Rio de Janeiro, has recently sent microfilm copies of thousands of manuscripts in the Arquivo bearing on Portuguese history to the Arquivo Histórico Colonial of Lisbon. It is well to remember that Rio de Janeiro, from 1808 to 1821, was the center of the Portuguese empire. In the Arquivo Nacional, therefore, a wealth of material for the years in question is to be found on many phases of Portuguese history.

Those who follow Luso-Brazilian relations will receive the news of the recent propaganda accord between Portugal and Brazil with interest. Under the terms of the agreement, Portugal is to maintain a special section of its own in the Departamento de Imprensa e Propaganda of Rio de Janeiro, and Brazil is to send a representative to Lisbon to work in conjunction with the Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional. Broad plans of a cultural nature, calculated to strengthen the ties between the two countries, are now in process of elaboration and will touch upon the exchange of students, teachers, lecturers, and books. The Visconde de Carnaxide is Portugal's representative in Rio and Dr. José Augusto Cesário Alvim is representing Brazil in Lisbon.



